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ISIS AND NEPHTHYS AS WAILING WOMEN[1])

BY

C. J. BLEEKER

The lamentation for the dead in Ancient Egypt goes back to remote antiquity. This is no matter for surprise. Only rarely is Death welcomed as a liberator. As a rule he is considered an archenemy of mankind. His arrival causes bewilderment and grief, and evokes loud lamentations. The ancient Egyptians, though convinced that after his actual death man continues his existence in the realm of the dead, held death in equal abhorrence as most other peoples. This abhorrence is very human and is most eloquent when the ancient Egyptian does not give direct expression to it. For instance, he paraphrases dying ephemistically by the verb 'to land' (mnj), a term evoking the image of a storm-battered ship which at last comes to anchor in a safe harbour. Poetically the ancient Egyptian refers to 'the country which loves silence', but this poetical reference conceals his horror of inexorable death. He moans: 'No one returns from there to tell us how they (i.e. the dead) fare, to recount their fate, to comfort our hearts'. Death is irrevocable, and thus the deceased is mourned and lamented.

Even in the matter-of-fact, prosaic succinctness of the most ancient funerary texts this human lament can be overheard. A group of women in a Gizah tomb from the 6th dynasty period exclaim: 'Oh, my beloved Lord', and two groups of men add alternately: 'Oh, my beloved father' and 'Oh, my Lord, take me unto Thee!'[2]). In a later period the texts become somewhat more detailed and colourful. Two examples may be quoted here from the New Kingdom period. A tomb at El-Kab portrays two wailing women, accompanied by the following inscription: 'His daughter, Baba, she says:' Whither goest Thou, my father? His daughter, Jahhotep, she says: to whom shall I go, my father? His favourite

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1) I feel greatly indebted to Miss Dr H. Boas for her excellent translation of this study.

2) E. LÜDDEKENS, *Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen* (Mitt. d. Deutsch. Inst. für äg. Altertumskunde in Kairo, Band 11, Heft 1, 2, 1943), p. 16/7.

wife Nehi says: Whither shall I go, without my Lord, for ever? [3]). A very personal note is heard in the following passage from a Theban tomb, dating from the last centuries of Egyptian civilization:

"The voice of the woman who is on earth, she says:
My heart weeps, weeps.
Thou reachest the necropolis speedily.
Woe, woe. No comfort is left for the bereaved.
Yet no shortcoming has been found with me!
Woe unto me, woe unto me! My home has been wrecked in an instant.
I am like a young calf gone astray at night, a calf that has lost its way. [4])"

The lamentations come from the mouths of the next-of-kin of the deceased. They render the mood in the house of the deceased, where relatives and friends are gathered to mourn him. The passionate display of grief ceases, however, as soon as the funerary procession sets out on its way. The wailing women accompany the coffin only for some distance and then remain behind, loudly moaning. The men who carry the coffin utter no lament but only speak comforting words, such as 'To the West, to the West, the region of the just, the region for which thou hast yearned' [5]). This was the custom in the earliest periods. Only from the days of Pharaoh Thutmosis IV the designs of the funerary procession contain scenes of a display of grief [6]).

From times immemorial two figures take part in the funerary procession who deserve our attention in the highest degree. They are the two official wailing women [7]), who occupy a fixed place in the funerary procession, in front of and behind the coffin, and who are usually distinguished as 'the big wailing woman' and 'the small wailing woman'; at an early age they were identified as Isis and Nephthys [8]). It is worth noticing that during the journey to the tomb they utter not a single lament, but stride along with stately gait; at most the well-controlled gesture of their arms expresses their feelings of grief. We

3) *Ibidem*, p. 38.
4) *Ibidem*, p. 165.
5) *Ibidem*, p. 80.
6) *Ibidem*, p. 11.
7) *Ibidem*, p. 65, fig. 23.
8) *Ibid.* p. 15; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon etc.*, p. 377 sqq.: Klageweib.

may assume that in the house of mourning they had already exercized their profession in a sufficient degree and in a manner corresponding with the behaviour of present-day Egyptian wailing women, i.e. with Oriental exuberance, a peculiar mixture of false pathos and sincere feelings [9]).

The same two wailing women also play a part in the cult of Osiris, in which the lamentation for the deead is an important ceremony. Two papyri have come down to us with two litanies from this cult; they have been published under the titles: 'The Songs of Isis and Nephthys' and 'The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys' [10]). We shall quote them here as 'The Songs' and 'The Lamentations'. Both texts date from the later period of Ancient Egyptian history but the lamentations themselves are presumably much older. In any case the participation of two wailing woman in the cult of Osiris must go back to remote antiquity, since they represent Isis and Nephthys, the mythical wailing women. This is stated in so many words in the prescriptions given both by 'The Songs' and by 'The Lamentations' on the manner in which these lamentations must be recited. In the opening passage of 'The Songs' we read: 'Two women should be fetched, pure of body, virgins, the hair of whose bodies has been shaved off, round whose heads braids have been plaited, whose hands hold a tambourine and on whose upper arms their names have been written, viz. Isis and Nephthys' [11]). 'The Lamentations' end with an instruction containing the following passage: 'Two women must be fetched, beautiful of body: they must be made to sit down on the floor of the main portal of the audience-hall, their arms covered with the written names of Isis and Nephthys; jugs of faience, filled with water, must be placed in their right hands, and offering cakes, baked in Memphis, in their left hands, whilst their faces must be bent down' [12]). In this way the human representatives of Isis and Nephthys are described who mourn Osiris cultically.

The usual name for these two cultic officials is *ḏr.tj*, i.e. the two *ḏr.t*, a word indicating a soaring bird of prey, probably a falcon or a kite [13]). The name is very old and was originally given to Isis and

9) P. KAHLE, *Die Totenklage im heutigen Ägypten* (Εὐχαριστήριον für H. GUNKEL, 1923), p. 346 sq.

10) Pap. BREMNER-RHIND, *Bibl. Aeg.* III, and Mélanges Maspéro I.

11) The Songs 1 : 2-4.

12) The Lamentations 5 : 14, 15.

13) W.B. 5 : 596.

Nephthys, in such a manner that Isis is frequently identified with the *ḥ3.t*-bird, whose specific nature is unknown to us [14]), and Nephthys with the *ḏr.t.*-bird. Pap. 1255 states: 'Isis arrives and so does Nepthys, Isis from the left, Nephthys from the right, Isis as a *ḥ3.t*-bird, Nephthys as a *ḏr.t*-bird; they discover Osiris as he had been slain by his brother Seth in *Ndj.t.*". In a later period the two sisters are often depicted as birds when they come to mourn their brother Osiris and keep watch over him. It is believed that the shrill cries of the above-mentioned birds have led to this identification, since this bird's cry is said to possess the same pitch as the shrill sound of the ancient Egyptian lamentation [15]). Though plausible, this explanation is not supported by evidence. It is therefore important to point out that in the Osiris myth wings are an essential attribute of Isis — and to a lesser degree of Nephthys. With these wings Isis, as we shall describe in more detail below, waves coolness to Osiris which resuscitates him from death. This mythical gesture presupposes that Isis was originally conceived as a bird.

In the period when the above-mentioned two litanies were committed to writing, the original meaning of the term *ḏr.t* for wailing woman had undoubtedly long been forgotten. But the lament for the deceased Osiris was still as strong and vigorous as that for a near relative, with the only difference that the language of the ritual lamentation was stylized. Yet it contains expressions which are striking, because they create the illusion of expressing a direct and intense feeling of grief. Thus the wailing woman Isis exclaims in 'The Lamentations': 'Return to your home; for a long, long time I have not seen you; my heart is distressed for thee; my eyes look for thee." [16]). "I invoke you among tears, so that my voice will penetrate to high heaven, but thou doest not hear my voice, though I am your sister who loved thee on earth" [17]). And in 'The Songs' the same wailing woman says: 'My heart is hot since Thou hast turned thy back on me' [18]). In the liturgy of the cult of the hours which we shall mention later the *ḏr.t* states: 'For you the woman mourns in *Ḏdw*, the sister in Abydos, the 'mourn-

14) W.B. 3: 7.
15) LÜDDEKENS, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
16) The Lamentations 2: 4-5.
17) *Ibidem* 2: 11, 12.
18) The Songs 7: 5, 6.

ning one', sick for grief; humidity is in my eyes: she is sick for grief about her husband' [19]). The sorrow sounds sincere. In the same manner a woman might express herself who bewails the untimely death of her beloved husband. Yet this is a ritual, performed by two female officials chosen at random, which possesses a magico-religious character since, as we shall see later, it aims at the resurrection of Osiris.

The personal element in these cultic documents strikingly illustrates the close connection prevailing in ancient Egypt between funerary and the cultic lamentation for the dead, a connection rooted in the typical Egyptian view on the relation existing between Osiris and man, particularly in the death-situation. From the dawn of history the deceased in Egypt was identified with Osiris, with the visible object of having him share the victorious life of this god. Already in the Pyramid Texts we meet this identification, though there this prerogative is of course still reserved to the Pharaoh. In a later period also commoners may share in this privilege; the deceased is called simply 'Osiris N.N.', and is lamented in terms derived from the cultic idiom of the Osiris cult. Sometimes it is even difficult to discover who actually is being mourned: the god or a certain deceased human being. With regard to 'The Lamentations' for instance we may ask what is the main object of their recitation: the glorification of Osiris or the eulogy of a human dead person. The opening verses of this litany state that it 'must be recited in every place belonging to Osiris, at each of his festivals, to delight his soul, to preserve his body, to lend breath to the nostrils of him whose throat has been throttled, and to bestow life, eternity and prosperity on Osiris *Tntrwtj* born of *T*ꜣ*ḥ*ꜣ*ʿ*, surnamed *P.rw.ss.*" [20]). Towards the conclusion of this papyrus the same person is mentioned again whilst this time it is made still clearer that this mythical lamentation is expected to work his salvation [21]). The text states explicitly that it is a ritual 'a double usage': 'It is salutary for anyone performing it, as well as for the gods" [22]).

Undoubtedly the lamentation for the dead is in the first instance a spontaneous expression by the next-of-kin of the deceased of their

19) H. JUNKER, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae.* (Denkschriften der Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien, phil. hist. Kl., Band LIV 1911), p. 45.

20) The Lamentations 1: 4-12.

21) *Ibidem* 5: 7 sq.

22) *Ibidem* 1: 13.

feelings of sorrow and grief. Yet, as we have seen, both with regard to the funerary and the cultic lamentation the assistance was invoked of two women with the official duty to intone laments. They represented their mythical archetypes, viz. Isis and Nephthys, the so-called 'big' and 'little' wailing woman. This very old and characteristic custom raises two problems, viz. a) which was the part played by these two goddesses as wailing women in the myth and in the cult of Osiris? and b) what is the meaning of their lamentation for the dead?

The answering of these questions must be preceded by a brief discussion of the available facts. It is generally known that the Egyptian texts contain nothing but allusions to the Osiris myth and that the story of what happened to this deity is nowhere related in detail. We owe the full rendering of this myth to Plutarch, who in his well-known Περὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος, however, presents but a late version of it, a version, moreover, influenced by this Greek author's own view of this Egyptian god. Now the fact that the Egyptians never felt an inner need to relate this myth is so striking that it elicits another question, that of the function of myth in ancient Egyptian religion.

This is a most relevant question. Whoever is familiar with the important role played by theology and dogma in present-day world religions, naturally assumes that the essence of an ancient religion such as that of the ancient Egyptians must equally be sought in what may be considered *per analogiam* as its doctrinal content, viz. in myth. But this assumption is soon refuted by the facts. The Osiris doctrine is not expounded anywhere. The texts from which we derive most of our knowledge of the ancient Egyptian religion are mainly of a ritual character, i.e. they deal with the cult of the gods or of the dead, or with the position of the sacral king only.

This statement can easily be verified from a brief characteristic of the texts on which paper is mainly based. Four documents are directly connected with the cult of Osiris, viz.: 1) the memorial stone of a high court official of Sesostris III (ca. 1860 B.C.), by the name of I-chernofret, who describes the celebration of the Osiris mysteries at Abydos which he conducted at the orders of his king; 2) a beautiful Osiris hymn, written on a stela from the beginning of the 18th dynasty, which hymn is of exceptional value since in the form of a eulogy it relates a number of important events of the Osiris myth; 3) the liturgy of the cult of the hours which H. Junker has reconstructed from texts

in the Ptolemaic temples at Dendera (1st century B.C.), Edfu (3rd century B.C.) and Philae (4th century B.C.), and 4) the text from the Osiris shrine on the roof terrace of the temple at Dendera, describing the celebration of the Osiris festival on 12th to 30th Khoiak (the 4th month of *ꜣḫt*, the season of the flood of the Nile.) In addition four other texts may be consulted which do not directly refer to Osiris but frequently allude to what happened to this god. They are: 1) The Pyramid Texts with a funerary character, which seek to bestow immortality on the Pharaoh; 2) some chapters in the Book of the Dead, which are likewise connected with the cult of the dead, but this time that of private persons; 3) a text which Shabaka (712-700 B.C.), a Pharaoh of the 25th, Ethiopian, dynasty had chiselled in stone in order to protect it against ruin, a text containing a very ancient doctrine concerning the god Ptah of Memphis, presented dramatically in the form of dialogues between gods; 4) a text from the Ramesseum, probably from the 12th or the beginning of the 13th dynasty, which according to K. Sethe describes the holy drama enacted on the occasion of the Pharao's accession to the throne. This text is illuminated with primitive drawings depicting the various scenes of this royal drama.

A close study of this material must lead to the conclusion that the religion of the ancient Egyptians consisted mainly in the performance of certain sacred actions, from which religious salvation was expected. The effect of these cultic actions depended on their immanent mythical value. To the Egyptian mind religiosity was not bound up with the knowledge of a certain doctrine, but with the celebration of certain rites which somehow were rooted in myth. The mythical foundation of these rites deserves full attention. It appears on closer examination that the mythical value of certain cultic ceremonies consists in a reference to one or more stages of the myth, *in casu* the myth of Osiris of which Plutarch has preserved the standard version. Only the selection of these allusions may vary. On comparison of the various liturgies of the Osiris cult striking divergencies come to light. In some cases aspects are absent which to our mind are essential for the Osiris myth as it has become known and popular through Plutarch and other Greek authors. These differences are usually explained away by attributing them to diverging local traditions in the Osiris cult. Though this explanation may contain a grain of truth, it cannot satisfy us entirely as it leaves an important problem of history of religions un-

solved, viz. that of the relation between myth and rite in the cult of Osiris. This problem can be fully understood only if we realize that the Egyptian religion does not follow a well-defined, immutable, universally valid mythical pattern, but was based on a certain mythical conception, possessing a rather vague mythical view of the universe, from which the ancient Egyptians could draw according to circumstances. In the cult of Osiris the stress was placed alternately on different aspects of the myth, according to the religious effect expected of a certain rite which had to be performed at a given moment.

The lamentation of Isis and Nephthys is in a certain sense a test case for this view. Osiris is usually considered to belong, like Tammuz, Attis and Adonis, to the category of gods who dy and return to life again. In the cult of these gods mourning plays an important part. The lamentation might therefore be expected always to form an integral part of the myth and the cult of Osiris, but this is by no means the case. The lamentation is absent in four important documents, viz. 1) the memorial stone of I-cher-nofret, 2) the Osiris hymn, 3) the text of Schabaka, 4) the instructions from Dendera for the Osiris festivals celebrated from 12th to 30th Khoiak. This statement requires further instruction.

This is not the place for a close analysis of the account given by I-cher-nofret of the Osiris mysteries which he conducted at Abydos. But if we correctly interpret this text, which is unique in its way but also obscure in many details, the cardinal moments of this festival were the following: 1) Osiris' 'exodus', i.e. his apparition; 2) his death, which is not explicitly mentioned, but understood; 3) his funeral; 4) the destruction of his enemies; 5) his triumphant return to Abydos after his resurrection, which is again not explicitly mentioned, but understood. The reader will notice immediately that certain important aspects of the Osiris myth as it is known to us are lacking, viz.: 1) the figure of Seth, the murderer; 2) Horus' avenging of his father Osiris; 3) the tribunal of the gods which awards to Horus his father's rights, and also—which is important in this respect—4) the lamentation of Isis and Nephthys.

As to the Osiris hymn, it states about Isis: "She who sought her brother without wearying, who wandered about the country grief-stricken; she did not rest until she had found him; she originated coolness with her wings and wind with her feathers; she exulted and

brought her brother ashore; she erected the limpness of the weary (phallus); she received his seed; she formed his heir." Here too no mention is made of the lamentation.

Thirdly the Schabaka text: it alludes to Osiris' death by drowning, which is said to have occurred at Memphis, with the object of proclaiming Memphis as the store-house for the grain of the whole of Egypt. Isis and Nephthys were witnesses of the drowning of Osiris and apparently were so paralysed with terror that Horus had to exhort them to seize Osiris without delay in order to prevent him to be submerged. In this text too the lamentation is missing. That the text from Dendera dealing with the Osiris festivals on 12th-30th Khoiak does not contain a lamentation is easily accounted for, since it is entirely ritualistic. It describes the modelling of an image of Osiris from earth and grain and the rites connected with it.

These data justify the conclusion that the lamentation is not an integral part of the Osiris cult. Yet it is often mentioned. This stimulates an examination of the function of these lamentations in the myth and in the cult of Osiris. The best starting-point is the question as to who are the performers of this lamentation. Sacred tradition attributes this function to Isis and Nephthys. But not only they are the mourners. Osiris' death caused general grief. It is therefore a matter of course that other gods as well participated in this expression of grief. [23]) In particular Geb was grieved at the fate of his son. According to the liturgy of the cult of the hours it was Geb who brought Isis and Nephthys to the deceased Osiris in order to take care of him. [24]) We also learn that Horus bewailed his father. The ritual of the accession to the throne mentions that Horus bewailed his father and in doing so addressed himself to Geb. Another passage of the same text mentions the words which Horus spoke to Geb on this occasion, viz.: 'I have embraced this my father who had grown weary, until he regained health.' [25]) This is a first indication that the lamentation was not merely an expression of grief, but also aimed at Osiris' revival. This must be kept well in mind. Also the lamentation by Horus as such deserves our attention. It does not correspond with the usual tradition

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23) The Lamentations 2: 10; The Songs 4: 8.

24) JUNKER, *Stundenwachen* p. 75.

25) K. SETHE, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen* (1928), p. 213, 211.

that Horus was born posthumously. The meaning of this latter view regarding the time of Horus' birth is evident, viz. Osiris had retained his procreative faculty even after death, which was viewed as evidence of his power to return to life. Meanwhile we cannot disregard the fact that according to certain texts a Horus was present at the death of Osiris and mourned his father. Which Horus is he? In Egyptian mythology several Horus figures are found, the most important of whom are: 1) the so-called elder Horus, a sky-god, who formed a pair with Seth; 2) Horus the son of Isis who avenged his father. It is conceivable that Horus was afterwards given a place in the Osiris-drama. It is also conceivable that the mourning by Horus which partly consisted in aid to Osiris, was dated back to the moment at which according to the logic of the most current myth, he could not yet have been born. Again we find that no fixed mythical pattern existed.

However this may be, the most natural situation is that in which Isis, Osiris' spouse, is the sole mourner. This is indeed an existing tradition. Chapters 19 and 20 of the Book of the Dead mention the night in which Isis laid down to keep vigil, bewailing her brother.[26]) Even the wailing of Osiris is mentioned, presumably after he had been attacked by Seth. Chapter 18 mentions: "the night in which Isis slept and woke up by the wailing of her brother Osiris.[27]) Also in Plutarch's account Nephthys is absent at the mourning of Osiris; this author relates that Isis on learning of the murder of her husband cut off one of her locks and put on mourning attire[28]) and that afterwards, when she had obtained Osiris' coffin, which had been enclosed in a pillar of cedarwood of the royal palace at Byblos, she flung herself down on it, weeping passionately.[29]) According to another tradition, which is found as early as the Pyramid Texts, it is in particular Nephthys who actively participates in the lamentation of Isis, her sister. Though in Isis' lament the intimate accent which only a wife's lament of her husband can possess, is heard, yet also Nephthys' expressions of grief strike a note of genuine sorrow. Thus the two divine sisters became the typical wailing women.

Humanly speaking it was obvious that Nephthys as a loving sister

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26) Book of the Dead 19: 11; 20: 5.
27) *Ibidem* 18: 17.
28) Caput 14.
29) Caput 16.

felt prompted to share in the grief of Isis. But this interpretation camouflages a problem of history of religions which is connected with the character of Nephthys and with her position in the Osiris myth. Nephthys, whose name means: 'the mistress of the house' and who is the wife of Seth, is a dim figure. [30]) We cannot enter here in more detail into her origin and actual character. Within the framework of the present study it suffices to establish that no full justice is done to this goddess by considering her an artificial figure, invented only to supply Seth with a spouse. This interpretation disregards the fact that she plays an essential part in the care of the dead Osiris, which is already mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, e.g. maxim 1786: "I am Nephthys; I have come to hold thee; I give thee thy bodily heart." In later texts, e.g. in 'The Lamentations' she guards Osiris' body and protects it against further attacks. [31])

Thus the two sisters stand respectively at the head and at the foot of Osiris' bier, both in the texts and in the monuments. Both of them are called of old *rḥ.tj*, 'the two women'. This expression reminds us of the fact that Horus and Seth, 'die feindlichen Brüder', are often called *rḥwj*, 'the two comrades'. This parallelism cannot be accidental, but is probably connected both with the importance of the dual number in ancient Egyptian and with the significance of dualism in ancient Egyptian religion. The relation between Isis and Nephthys lacks the dramatic tension of violent struggle and eventual reconciliation which characterizes the relation between Horus and Seth. Yet 'the two women' are inseparable in the tragic hour of Osiris' death. For the ancient Egyptian, who was inclined to think in terms of twofoldness, the lamentation for the dead apparently received its full sonority only when the first cry of distress found its response in a second one. By the same token Isis and Nephthys often alternate in the litanies, in which sorrowful antiphonic song Nephthys plays an essential part.

The two sisters do more than merely passively sitting down at the bier of the deceased Osiris, giving their tears free play. This is immediately clear from the name given them as early as the Pyramid Texts, viz. *ḫnm.t.tj*, the two female attendants, a term with the specific meaning of divine nurses. The deceased Osiris is in need of attendance as it is given to a baby. Another aspect of their activity is expressed

30) BONNET, *Reallexikon*, p. 519.
31) The Lamentations 3: 12.

in their title in the ritual of the accession to the throne, viz. 'the two female eulogists who praise Osiris.' [32]) It is noteworthy that this title, which is usually given to priestesses worshipping the deity to whose cult they are attached, is here attributed to the wailing women. This intimates that their laments did not contain that note of unfathomable grief which is felt at the death of a human being whose passing is irrevocable. The litanies of Isis and Nephthys were, besides expressions of grief, also a carmen, an evocation. They possessed the constraining power innate in the magical word and particularly in the magical song. They were to call Osiris back to life, and possessed as their main characteristic the attendance given by the two sisters to Osiris, and indicated by the verb *śʾḫj* — a causative with the meaning 'to glorify' — actually 'to make a person a *ʾḫ'*, i.e. the glorified dead man as a figure of radiance.

In order to realize the full importance of the attendance to the dead Osiris we must know where and in what manner he met his death. This cannot be easily established. The texts cast a veil over this gruesome occurrence and speak with visible repugnance of 'the night of the great horror' [33]). Diodorus Siculus states that the death of Osiris was an ἀπόρρητον. Herodotus informs us that the ancient Egyptians considered the performance of the passion of Osiris as a mystery about which he himself too wants to keep absolute silence. It is therefore not astonishing that the texts provide no clear picture of the manner in which Osiris died. The vague allusions, however, indicate that two different views were current — which may eventually be combined. We learn on the one hand that Osiris was slain, by Seth, though the name of the murderer is often passed over in silence. According to another version he drowned. As early as the Pyramid Texts both events are localized in *Ndj.t,* a mythical place the name of which permits a quibble with the verb 'to throw'. In the same texts we read that Isis found her brother, lying on his side, i.e. dead, on the bank of *Ndj.t* [34]). This text might open the possibility of combining the abovementioned two views on Osiris' death in such a way that Seth murdered him by drowning. Plutarch has preserved a tradition of the violence with which Seth acted against Osiris, whose corpse he is said to have torn

32) SETHE, *Dramtische Texte,* p. 226.
33) JUNKER, *Stundenwachen,* p. 35.
34) Pyr. 1008.

into fourteen pieces which he then scattered all over Egypt [35]). This tradition is undoubtedly connected, on the one hand with certain funerary customs, and on the other with certain ceremonies of the Osiris cult into which we cannot enter here in greater detail. But in the context of our study this statement is of importance as it relates that Seth had severely mangled Osiris' corpse. In this condition it was found by Isis and Nephthys after a lengthy search. No wonder that their lament is full of grief. Also, the care which they bestowed on Osiris was in accordance with the condition in which they had found him.

The texts supply us with interesting details about this attendance. The Pyramid Texts state: 'I am your sister who loves thee, Isis says, Nephtys says: they mourn thee, they resuscitate thee' (Pyr. 2192). 'Thou art washed by Isis, thou receivest ablutions from Nephthys, thy two great sisters who put together thy flesh, who raise thy limbs' (Pyr. 1981). According to the Schabaka text Osiris drowned at Memphis or fell into the water 'whilst Isis and Nephthys witnessed it'. This accident made them numb with horror, but at Horus' exhortation 'they turned their heads at the (right) moment and so brought him ashore' [36]). In the ritual of the accession to the throne Horus says to Osiris: 'The panther cat' (probably a name of Nephthys) has put together (will put together?) thy limbs' [37]). The liturgy of the cult of the hours adds some colourful details to this scene. The wailing woman says: 'I found the drowned of the earth in primeval age' [38]). This expression shifts the death of Osiris to primeval age and thus stresses its mythical character. In this text the expressions of grief are very intense. The wailing woman says: 'I raised my lament to high heaven, a wailing reaching the residents of the nether world.' [39]) Repeatedly she states: 'I lament because thou art slain', and declares that she clothed the naked [40]). The two goddesses folded their wings over their brother, not only for his protection, but also in order to restore to him the breath of life. 'I restored wind to his nostrils so that he would live' [41]). The narrative text states: 'Isis provides thee with life [42]).

35) Caput 18.
36) SETHE, *Dramatische Texte,* p. 72/3.
37) *Ibidem,* p. 216.
38) JUNKER, *Stundenwachen,* p. 84.
39) *Ibidem,* p. 40.
40) *Ibidem,* p. 75.
41) *Ibidem,* p. 35.
42) *Ibidem,* p. 45.

Together the *ḏr.tj* call to Osiris: 'Raise, thou hast risen from the dead' [43]). 'Thou must not die, thy *kꜣ* will live' [44]). A pictural rendering of this quotation is found inter alia in the temple of Philae where Isis and Nephthys stand respectively at the head and at the foot of the bier of Osiris over whom they make a constraining gesture, which resuscitates him [45]).

This lamentation for the dead is in particular an essential and vital element in the liturgy of the cult of the hours, a text describing the ritual actions which have to be performed in the cult of Osiris at each of the twelve hours of the day and night. The *ḏr.t* are introduced speaking in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth hour of the day and in the first, second, third, sixth and eighth hour of the night, whilst of the seventh and eighth hour of the day and of the fifth hour of the night it is mentioned that Isis and Nephthys arrive to lament and to offer assistance to Osiris. The chorus of the hourly recitation reads: 'Thou triumphest, oh Osiris, first of the Westerners; the god N.N. has arrived to see thee; he smites thy enemies in front of thee to thy right ((left)'. The liturgy thus intends to actualize Osiris' triumph, an object which the lamentations of the wailing women help to achieve.

The litanies called 'The Lamentations' and 'The Songs' have the same purpose. The first is composed according to a close parallelism. Isis and Nephthys are introduced speaking alternately, Isis thrice and Nephthys twice. 'The Songs' are more detailed: they consist of seventeen chapters of 27 to 30 verses each — against five chapters of twelve to fifteen verses each for 'The Lamentation'; moreover, their composition is less harmonious. Four times Isis laments alone, and six times jointly with Nephthys. Moreover a lament is added which contains a kind of apotropaeic magic and is recited by the wailing women — in this context sometimes called 'the long-haired ones'. In both litanies we discern not only the accent of dismay and mourning, but above all the pathos of constraining word that may call Osiris back to life.

As a human document the lamentations for the deceased Osiris are immediately intelligible; their function in myth and cult has been suf-

43) *Ibidem*, p. 120.
44) *Ibidem*, p. 84.
45) A. MORET, *Rois et dieux d'Egypte*, p. 93.

ficiently explained in our earlier paragraphs. The question now remains as to their religious function. In attempting an answer we may start from the thesis that the Osiris myth reflects certain events in the cosmos, in which according to the ancient Egyptian view divine life manifests itself. Now, do these laments refer to certain phenomena of Nature, and if so, to which?

The ancient Egyptians, familiar with the underlying meaning of the myth, have not taken the trouble to inform us of it. Thus the interpretation given by certain classical authors receives added importance [46]). Plutarch relates that in ancient Egypt four phenomena of nature were mourned annually, viz. 1) the fall of the Nile water; 2) the dislodging of the cool North wind by the hot South wind; 3) the shortening of the days with regard to the nights; and 4) the disappearance of vegetation [47]). All these events, which typify the decay of life, may certainly have prompted laments. Other authors associate the lamentations specifically with two events, viz.: 1) the harvest and 2) the fall of the Nile water. Diodorus Siculus relates that during the harvest an offering of the first fruits was brought, whilst the men beat their breasts, lamenting and invoking Isis [48]). Firmicus Maternus has preserved an allusion to this custom in the form of a question, put to the Egyptian: 'Cur plangitis fruges terrae et crescentia lugetis semina?' [49]). The death of Osiris is therefore considered to have occurred during the harvest. On the other hand, Pausanias has handed down a statement, made to him by a Phoenician, that the ancient Egyptians celebrated the festival of the mourning for Osiris by Isis at the moment that the Nile started to rise again. This rise of the Nile water was believed to have been caused by the tears of Isis [50]). Very well-known is the description given by Plutarch of the procession to the bank of the Nile in the night of 19th Athyr; the priests scopped water from the Nile in a precious pitcher and those present proclaimed loudly: 'Osiris has been found' [51]). The description of this ceremony follows immediately on the passage regarding the above-mentioned four annual causes for

46) H. GRESSMANN, *Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris nach Festbrauchen und Umzügen* (1923).
47) Chapter 39.
48) I: 45.
49) *De errore profanarum religionum* II: &.
50) LÜDDECKENS, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
51) Cap. 39.

mourning. According to Plutarch's account the laments may therefore refer specifically to the height of the Nile water.

The answer to the question regarding the meaning of the lamentation for the dead, as well as to whether the accounts of these classical writers deserve credit, is closely bound up with the view on the essence of the character of Osiris — one of the most difficult problems presented by ancient Egyptian religion. At the end of this rather lengthy paper we shall not enter into this problem in detail, but shall limit ourselves to indicating some thoughts for a renewed examination, which is by no means redundant.

We have the impression that the examination of this problem has been frozen into a kind of antithesis: on the one hand Frazer has described Osiris as the dying vegetation-god who rises again — a view which at the time wielded an enormous influence; on the other hand a number of Egyptologists claim that Osiris was originally a culture hero, a deceased king who had been deified. Thus the vegetation-god is contrasted with the man-god, the king-god.

But do they really form an antithesis? We should do well to realize that the ancient Egyptians could not conceive of a deity otherwise than in the shape of a king. This implies by no means that this deity must originally have been a human king as some modern scholars claim, following in the footsteps of Euhemerus. Also Re, the sun-god, is a king, yea, the king of the universe par excellence. No one will consider him to have been originally a deified human king. So why should Osiris? The human traits associated with him, which render his myth so sympathetic, may be explained in a different manner. In order to do this we must first establish that Osiris was associated with the water of the Nile, with vegetation and specifically with the corn and also with the earth. His death is a mythical expression of the low-tide-situation in cosmic life. It is entirely intelligible that this low tide caused grief. A death always evokes laments, and in particular this death, which possessed a mythical significance. This means that the deceased Osiris is mourned in myth by those relatives who are his next-of-kin, as is also done in the world of the humans. Nothing more natural, therefore, than that the lamentations were recited by Isis and Nephthys, who thus became the archetypical wailing women.

Establishing this connection means also re-discovering the connection between the cult of Osiris and the funerary cult. This connection

must go back to remote antiquity. The direct link is the lamentation for the dead, which is as much applicable to a dead god as to a dead human being. In my view we cannot doubt that the funerary cult has strongly influenced the character of Osiris. Here a fresh re-examination of the problem must set in. But one thing is clear: Osiris is not a god who rises again in the meaning that he returns to life, but he is the glorified dead god who distinguishes himself from the human dead in that in his death he preserves his creative power. It are the litanies of Isis and Nephthys which, in addition to expressing their grief at his death, have above all the object of resuscitating this creative power.

LA RELIGIONE GRECA NEI TESTI MICENEI

DI

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Il deciframento da parte di Michael Ventris [1]) della scrittura preistorica detta „lineare B" non ha destato finora larga risonanza tra gli studiosi del mondo antico, al di là di un fervido ma ristretto gruppo di specialisti, glottologi e cultori di studi minoico-micenei. Fra gli stessi ellenisti, solo pochi filologi, in Italia e all'estero, hanno portato alle nuove ricerche il loro personale contributo [2]).

Eppure si tratta di una delle maggiori scoperte del nostro tempo, destinata a profonde e durature ripercussioni sulla nostra visione del

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1) M. VENTRIS-J. CHADWICK, *Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives, Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 1953, 73, pg. 84-103. Dopo altri articoli e studi del VENTRIS e del suo collaboratore (*Antiquity,* 27, pg. 196-200 (V), 200-6 (C); *Archaeology,* 1954, 7, 1, pg. 15-21; (V) *Lond. Bull. Class. Philol.,* 1, 1954, pg. 3-10; (V) pg. 1-3 (C) ibidem 2, 1955, pg. 1 e sgg. (C) *Eranos,* 53, 1955, pg. 109 e sgg. (V); *Trans. Phil. Soc.,* 1954, pg. 1-17 (C); *Greece and Rome,* 1955-6, pg. 38 e sgg. (C), CHADWICK-VENTRIS-PALMER, *Studies in Mycenaean Inscriptions and Dialect,* Londra 1956; cfr. anche BENNETT-CHADWICK-VENTRIS, *Lond. Bull. Class. Studies,* 1956, *Suppl. Pap.,* 1956, pg. 84), cfr. ora il fondamentale volume: VENTRIS-CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek,* Cambridge, 1956, pgg. 451. Per la ormai imponente bibliografia, in continuo aumento, cfr. oltre la bibliografia ivi (pg. 448) gli aggiornamenti bibliografici in *Minos,* 1955, pg. 157 e sgg. (1956, pg. 69 e sgg., pg. 175 e sgg), 1957, pg. 103 e sgg.; *Paideia* X, 6, 1955, pg. 390; XI, 6, 1956, pg. 387.

2) Cfr. per ora CHANTRAINE, *Rev. ét. anc.,* 1954, pg. 156 e sgg.; *Revue de philol.* 29, 1955, pg. 11 e sgg.; *Minos,* 1956, 1, pg. 51 e sgg.; GALLAVOTTI, *La parola del passato,* 1956, pg. 5 e sgg., pg. 149 e sgg.; *Rivista di filologia classica,* 1956, pg. 225 e sgg.; *Documenti e struttura del greco in età micenea,* Roma, 1956; H. MÜHLESTEIN, *Museum Helveticum,* 12/1955, pg. 119 e sgg.; *Olympia in Pylos,* Basilea, 1956 (16 pg.); *Die Oka Tafeln von Pylos,* Basilea, 1956; T. B. L. WEBSTER, *Lond. Bull. Class. Inst.,* 1954, pg. 11, pg. 15-16; *Antiquity,* 113, 1955, pg. 10-14; *Classica et Mediaevalia,* 17/1956, pg. 139 e sgg.; P. KRARUP, *Eranos,* 1956, pg. 28, e, se pur in modo più marginale, A. LESKY, *Anzeig. der Oest. Akad. der Wiss.,* 1954, pg. 113 e sgg.; *Gymnasium,* 62, 1955, pg. 1-12; A. COLONNA., *Paideia* 1955, pg. 112 e sgg. (includo fra gli "specialisti" M. PALLOTTINO, G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, R. HAMPE).

mondo antico, ben oltre i limiti geografici e storici della tavolette decifrate. Grazie alla geniale intuizione e al fervido lavoro entusiasta del giovane architetto inglese, purtroppo tragicamente scomparso un anno fa, oggi possiamo affermare con fiduciosa sicurezza che in Creta, in Messenia, in Argolide dalla metà del II millennio si parlava già greco. Un greco arcaicissimo, fuori da tutti gli schemi, non proprio affine ad alcuno dei dialetti „storici" più o meno antichi, ma greco comunque.

La civiltà „micenea" (convenzionale nome degli archeologi per la civiltà egea del II millennio a. C. che ha il suo centro d'irradiazione nel Peloponneso) si viene ad inserire in tal modo fra le grandi civiltà scritte del II millennio come civiltà scritta di lingua greca: una lingua ormai nettamente staccata e differenziata, non sappiamo da quanti secoli, dal cosidetto ceppo „indoeuropeo".

E la storia dei Greci sul suolo dell'Ellade è cominciata in piena età del bronzo, ben prima dell'età del ferro e del cosidetto medioevo greco. Il primo capitolo di questa storia è ancora oggi tutto da scrivere, o meglio da riscrivere da capo, inquadrandolo entro la *koiné* orientale-mediterranea alla quale storicamente e culturalmente si collega la civiltà „micenea".

Spetta ora a noi studiosi della grecità sottoporre la più antica storia greca (il nebuloso periodo delle „origini") a un coraggioso se pur cauto lavoro di revisione; lasciando cader senza rimpianti schemi abituali, oggi da considerar superati, perchè la scoperta dia tutti i suoi frutti. Dico storia nel senso più vasto: politica, sociale e economica, culturale letteraria e religiosa.

Mentre prosegue da parte di studiosi di tutto il mondo la difficile e meritoria esegesi del materiale pubblicato (solo parzialmente trascritto) [3]) e si attendono i reperti nuovi degli ultimi scavi di Mes-

3) A. FURUMARK, *Ägäische Texte in griechischer Sprache, Eranos,* 1954, pg. 51 e sgg.; R. L. PALMER, *A Mycenaean Calendar of offering, Eranos* 1955, pg. 1 e sgg.; P. MERIGGI, *Glotta,* 1954, pg. 12 e sgg.; *Glossario miceneo,* Torino, 1956; C. GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti,* 1956, pg. 35 e sgg.; *La triade lesbia in un testo miceneo, Riv. fil. class., art. cit.*; (in corso di stampa *Ares e Areios prima di Omero,* ibidem, 1957, 16 pgg.); G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *La parola del passato,* 1956, pg. 186; *Riflessi di culti micenei nelle tavolette di Cnosso e di Pilo,* in *Studi in onore di* U. E. PAOLI, pg. 601 e sgg.; H. MÜHLESTEIN, *Panzeus in Pylos, Minos,* 1956, pg. 79; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 125-7 (Mycenean Religion), e passim. I testi di Cnosso, Pilo, Micene, verranno citati colla numerazione di: E. L. BENNETT, J. CHADWICK, M. VENTRIS, *The Knossos Tablets,* 1955, II ediz.; E. L.

senia, Micene e Creta, con la viva speranza di trovare anche documenti meno brevi, e non solo di archivio, già si possono porre, a mio avviso, le premesse di una revisione per la più antica storia della religione greca. E' un tentativo da farsi con estrema serietà e cautela; partendo, come indispensabile premessa, dalle ricerche importantissime di Furumark, Palmer, Gallavotti, Pugliese Carratelli, Meriggi, Ventris e Chadwick su singoli testi „religiosi", ma allargando l'indagine a tutto il materiale pubblicato; sempre su sicuri dati collaudati dal consenso degli specialisti, senza pretese di nuove letture, nel disegno di metter in risalto, senza forzare i testi, la continuità fra la religione micenea e la greca.

Per la storia della religione, i documenti micenei che si offrono a tutt'oggi all'indagine e alla meditazione degli studiosi sono soltanto documenti cultuali; poichè, come è noto, fra le migliaia di tavolette degli archivi di Cnosso e di Pilo, e della città di Micene (un numero in continuo aumento), non sono ancora stati ritrovati testi letterari, e quindi poemi mitologici o inni religiosi.

Si tratta peraltro di un materiale assai più interessante e meno esiguo di quanto potrebbe a prima vista parere. Agli aridi elenchi di offerte a divinità e luoghi sacri, talora frammenti di calendari rituali (poche decine di iscrizioni in tutto), si debbono aggiungere le molte indicazioni e allusioni attinenti a persone e cose del culto in molte altre tavolette non sacrali.

Oggetto dopo il deciframento di severe, pazienti indagini, acute intuizioni, fervide discussioni ancora in corso fra studiosi di tutto il mondo, questi documenti quasi sempre presentano, è vano negarlo, punti oscuri e difficoltà di interpretazione non ancora risolti fino ad oggi. Ma tuttavia ci consentono di tracciare, sia pure in modo provvisorio, i lineamenti della „religione micenea" tra il XV e il XIII secolo a. C.

Ad esprimere il concetto di divinità, la parola del greco „miceneo" è già quella prettamente indoeuropea del greco d'epoca storica, parola destinata a durare oltre il tramonto della civiltà ellenica: θεός, θεοί

BENNETT, *The Pylos Tablets,* II ed., Princeton, 1955; *The Mycenae tablets, Proc. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.* 97, 1953, pg. 422 e sgg., tenendo conto delle successive discussioni (cfr. specialmente il volume *Études mycéniennes* Paris 1956, *Actes du colloque international sur les textes mycéniens,* 3-7 avril 1956, e le ultime annate di *Minos, Eranos, Glotta*). Quando non vi è indicazione diversa in nota, la lettura seguita è di CHADWICK-VENTRIS (citato *V.C. Documents*).

(*teo, teoi*) (CNOSSO E 842, 1b; PILO Eb 297, 1, Eo 270, 7; Ep 704, 5; 1226). Già nei testi di Cnosso, che sono i più antichi, il plurale *teoi* rivela subito che ci troviamo di fronte a una religione politeistica. L'espressione formularia, ricorrente in tante tavolette di offerte al dativo, non di rado dopo il nome di altri dei: *pasi teoi* [4]), non va intesa come la totalità degli dei, piuttosto come la pluralità degli dei minori accomunati in un'offerta unica. Espressioni consimili si ritrovano in documenti dello stesso periodo per il rituale ittita, babilonese, assiro, cananeo, e più anticamente in documenti di Mari [5]).

Iscrizioni cultuali elleniche mostrano come, caduto lo stile formulario, nel linguaggio religioso la espressione sia rimasta nel nome di un mese greco: πανθεών. Come è stato subito notato al primo decifra mento, e poi chiaramente sottolineato in studi particolari, e suffragato con nuove letture e l'apporto di nuovo materiale, i nomi di quello che è stato chiamato „il Pantheon miceneo" sono in gran parte i nomi, famosi nei secoli per virtù di poesia e d'arte, delle divinità greche [6]).

Per la continuità storica fra religione „micenea" e ellenica, ormai inconfutabile, possiamo anche indurre che si tratti di politeismo antropomorfico: quale appare chiaramente delineato in Grecia già nei poemi omerici e esiodei, e nei più antichi documenti figurati dell'età arcaica. Mi pare d'altronde importante sottolineare come la maggior parte dei nomi divini ricordati nelle tavolette, e nei pochi altri documenti micenei iscritti di Eleusi Tebe Asine, appartenga al mondo religioso greco che per convenzione si suol chiamare „olimpico": Zeus Posidone Apollo Ares Atena Ilitia Hermes Efesto Hera.

Divinità di primo piano a Cnosso e a Pilo appare Posidone; *posedao*

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4) Cfr. VENTRIS, *J. H. S.*, 1953, pg. 95; FURUMARK, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 34; PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *loc. cit.*, pg. 601 e sgg., cfr. MERIGGI, *Glossario Miceneo* s.v. *teo* pg. 74; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 303.

5) Cfr. per la religione ugaritica (la totalità degli dei) *Orientalia,* 1956, p. 417, C. GORDON, *Ugaritic Literature,* testo 2, 34, 1948; per la religione di Mari "*Syria*" 1939 pg. 307; per la religione ittita (i mille dei) cfr. G. H. GÜTERBOCK, *Kumarbi,* 1946, pg. 107 cfr. 21; per la religione greca di età storica cfr. U. von WILAMOWITZ, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II, 1921, pg. 75; P.W. s.v.*Pantheon,* XVIII, 3, col. 698; JACOBY, Πάντες θεοί, 1930 (cfr. anche il mese πανθήιος a Metimna: J.G. XII, 81, 2, 4).

6) Cfr. C. GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti e struttura del greco nell'età micenea,* 1956, pg. 35. La lettura dei nomi e la loro identificazione con divinità greche è nella maggior parte dei casi accolta dopo la decifrazione del Ventris da PALMER, PUGLIESE-CARRATELLI, FURUMARK, MERIGGI, GEORGIEV, GALLAVOTTI; il dissenso o consenso dai singoli verrà via indicato nelle note.

inaspettatamente senza il *F* e con il σ [7]), e già la peculiare alternanza greca nei derivati aggettivali [8]). A Pilo soprattutto, dove il nome del suo sacrario o sacello, al primo posto nel considetto „calendario rituale" Tn. 316 (r. 1.) *posidaijo* (ποσιδάϊον), rende plausibile l'ipotesi sostenuta dal Gallavotti che sia Posidone il dio patrono di Pilo, o almeno della casa reale pilia [9]). Tale ancora appare nell'Odissea: patrono di Nestore Gerenio, rappresentato nell'atto di offrire solenne sacrificio in riva al mare di nove tori neri (Odissea III, v. 5 e sgg.) a „Posidone Enosichthon". E non solo a Pilo, ma già a Cnosso a metà del II millennio Posidone è divinità ctonia come nella tradizione religiosa e cultuale ellenica, viva ancora nella Grecia del V e IV secolo: dio dei terremoti „scuotitor della terra". Poichè non vi è ragione di negare che al Posidone miceneo sia da attribuirsi l'epiteto di *Enesidaone* (*Enesidaonei* CNOSSO M 719) che richiama l'epiteto di Ἐνοσίδας, forma meno frequente, e visibilmente più arcaica, del corrente, e già omerico, Ἐνοσίχθων [10]). Ci riportano all'ambiente sacrale e cultuale di Posidone anche gli epiteti micenei di *Aktor* (*Akoto*: CNOSSO Sc 239); *Epilimnios* (*opiriminijo*: CNOSSO Sc 230) finora interpretati però come nomi propri, non come epiteti del dio.

Di origine e di impronta micenea è il titolo illustre di ἄναξ, che nel culto greco Posidone ha in comune con altre divinità maggiori, e già in età micenea indica, oltre i sovrani, anche talvolta i signori del mondo divino, cioè i maggiori dei (*wanaka*). Ed alla luce dei documenti cnossii (della serie Sd, Sf) il famoso e discusso epiteto di Posidone „*hippios*", inteso di solito come „equestre", imprevedutamente viene ad assumere un significato meno peculiare, in rapporto non con il cavallo ma con il cocchio caratteristico del dio (cfr. miceneo *iqija*) [11])

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7) *Posedao,* Es 653, 1; *Posedaone* (dat.) Es 645, 1 +; Un 853, 2; *Posedaoni* Un 718, 1.

8) Cfr. per la forma aggettivata CHADWICK, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, pg. 7; E. RISCH, *Études Mycéniennes,* 1956, pg. 170; GALLAVOTTI, *Riv. fil. class.,* 1956, pg. 226; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 126; n. 171, 172; PALMER, *Eranos,* 1955, 5; WEBSTER, *Bull. Class. Studies,* London, 1954, pg. 1 e sgg.; R. HAMPE, *Gymnasium,* 1956, pg. 51.

9) GALLAVOTTI, *loc. cit.*

10) Cfr. FURUMARK, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 34; MERIGGI, *Glotta,* 34, 1954, 22 e *Glossario* s.v.; *V.C. Documents,* 309; cfr. *Odissea* IX, 518; *Iliade* XIII, 34 etc. (Ἐνοσίχθων); PINDAR. *Pyth.* IV, 307; *Pae.* IV, 41 (Ἐννοσίδας).

11) Per Posidone *hippios* cfr. Ff. SCHLACHERMEYER, *Poseidon und die Entstehung der griechischen Götter,* Berna, 1950, pg. 15, 35; per *epilymnios,* ibidem, pg.

(Che il Posidone „Scuotitor della terra" venerato a Cnosso e Pilo fosse anche divinità marina non appare da alcun documento miceneo; è verosimile, ma per ora non documentato).

Con maggior frequenza e forse anche con maggior rilievo ricorre nelle tavolette cultuali, a Cnosso e a Pilo, il nome di Zeus. Ricorre sempre in tutt'e due gli archivi nella forma affatto greca del genitivo *diwo* (Διὸς: CNOSSO E 842) e del dativo *diwe(i)* (Διϝεί: PILO Tn 316 r. 9, 10; An 218,2) [12]); e mai, conviene notarlo, nella forma „cretese" di Ζάν che illustri specialisti indicavano come la forma più antica [13]).

Qui i dati più interessanti ci vengono da Creta: in una tavoletta micenea d'offerte di Cnosso, il nome del dio è accompagnato dall'epiteto cultuale di Diktaios: *dikatajo diwe* (Δικταίῳ Διϝει: Fp 1, 2) [14]) felicemente messo in rapporto dal Carratelli con accenni in altri testi rituali al monte Dikte e a Lyktos (*dikatade* Δίκτανδε, CNOSSO, Fp 7, 2; G 866 cfr. *Rukito* CNOSSO V 159 +) (Λύκτος) [15]).

La veneranda antichità del culto di Zeus ditteo, durato ancora per testimonianze letterarie e epigrafiche oltre l'età classica [16]), qui trova inattesa, sicura testimonianza. E trova conferma indiretta, ma a mio giudizio non meno sicura, la vetusta antichità del raconto mitico famoso tramandato da Esiodo nella Teogonia: la nascita del grande Zeus nella povera grotta del monte Ditte, non lungi da Lyktos, fra il cal-

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21, 152; per la serie di tavolette micenee di carri cfr. FURUMARK, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 54-9; PALMER, *Lond. Bull. Class. Studies,* 1955, pg. 36; SITTIG, *Minos,* 1955, pg. 90; H. MÜHLESTEIN, *Museum Helveticum,* 1954, pg. 123 e sgg.; GALLAVOTTI, *La parola del passato,* 1956, pg. 22; MERIGGI, *Minos,* 1956, pg. 71-41; G. H. CHANTRAINE, *Minos,* 1956, pg. 50 e sgg.; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 361.

12) v. in particolare PALMER, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 34; 1955, pg. 2; PUGLIESE, *Riflessi di culti,* pg. 602 e sgg., FURUMARK, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 34; MERIGGI s.v. e *Gnomon* XXVI, pg. 67; MÜHLESTEIN, *Minos,* 1956, pg. 81 e sgg. (a pg. 83 interessante rassegna di tutti i derivati da *diwo*); GALLAVOTTI, *Riv. fil. classica,* 1956, pg. 227; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 125, 288.

13) v. H. USENER, *Götternamen,* 1948, pg. 16.

14) La lettura è del CHADWICK (cfr. MÜHLESTEIN, *Minos,* 1956, pg. 89; *V.C. Documents* 200, pg. 306).

15) PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *La Parola del passato,* 1955, pg. 186, cfr. ibidem, 226, 1956, pg. 123, *Riflessi di culti,* 1956, pg. 602; SITTIG, *Minos,* III, pg. 89; per *Liktos* fra i toponimi cretesi cfr. *Evidence,* 1953, 89b; MERIGGI, *Archivio glottologico,* 1954, pg. 84, E. G. TURNER, *London Bull. Class. Phil.,* 1954, pg. 17-8; *V.C. Documents,* 141.

pestio e il tintinnar di scudi dei Cureti guerrieri danzanti in armi, per sfuggir al feroce Crono divoratore dei suoi figli[16]).

Infatti il sacro luogo di Ditte di cui parla l'ignoto scriba miceneo del XV secolo altro non può essere che la grotta (forse quella di Psychro) in cui i Cretesi, e più particolarmente i Cnossi, al tempo di Callimaco e ancora in età romana narravan che era nato Zeus, per questo chiamato „Kretagenés", nato a Creta; e mostravan con riverenza il sito dove l'aveva cullato fra le sue braccia la Gran Madre, l'ava Dea Terra sul monte Egeo, e le ninfe Melie, Melissa e Adrasteia, come narra Callimaco, lo avevano nutrito, in una culla d'oro, di latte di capra e del dolce miele dell'ape Panacri[17]).

Adrastea è nome già „miceneo" (*Adarateia*: PILO Aa 785, Ab 388), come greco miceneo è quel nome di κῶρος con cui il dio viene invocato ancora nell'inno dei Cureti (*Kowo*)[18]). E nei testi pilii ricorre più volte l'appellativo di Olimpio: *Urupijajo*. Ricorre con l'alternanza dell'iniziale οὐ attestata solo in rapporto al mitico monte degli dei, non all'etnico di Olimpia in Elide; e dovrebbe essere appellativo divino, o comunque teoforo o sacrale: ma il contesto è oscuro[19]). E poichè il titolo „miceneo" di ἄναξ che Zeus porta nel culto d'età storica non è suo esclusivo retaggio, dal deciframento nessun elemento nuovo è venuto a suffragare la ragionevole e a mio giudizio validissima tesi del Nilsson che risalga alla età micenea la monarchia divina di Zeus[20]). Ad accentuare e caratterizzare, finora, l'importanza preminente di Zeus nella sfera sacrale della religione micenea vi è solo il numero rilevante e significativo dei nomi e attributi che dal suo divino nome derivano; fra i quali il nome di un mese, *Diwijojo*

16) Hesiod. *Theog.*, 447; Schol. ad Eurip. *Thes.*, 332; Callimach. *ad Jovem*, 32, Apoll. Rhod. III, 133, Diod. V, 70; Strab. X, 478; Apollod. *Bibl.* I, 1, 6; Dion. Hal. II, 61. DITTENBERGER, *Syll.* III, 462, 2.

17) Cfr. FARNELL, *Cults of Greek States* II, 596; COOK, *Zeus* I, pg. 933.

18) Inno dei Cureti. 1, 12 etc. (lettura del WILAMOWITZ, *Griechische Verskunst*, 1922, pg. 499; per Zeus *kouros* cfr. R. PETTAZZONI, *La Religione nella Grecia antica*, 1953, pg. 38. Accanto alla forma *kowo* frequentissima a Cnosso (v. anche MICENE Voc 9a), di particolare interesse mi sembra la forma *kowejo*: CNOSSO Dw 445, Dw 925; forse da leggere *Koureion* (κουρεῖον cfr. NILSSON, *op. cit.* pg. 167).

19) PILO An 519, 11; Cn 3, 6 +; Na 928. L'alternanza con la forma Οὔλυμπος, che già si trova nei poemi omerici e esiodei, viene da una tradizione più antica e resta nella lingua letteraria, e nella lingua parlata (cfr. iscrizioni).

20) NILSSON, *Gesch. Griech. Religion* I, pg. 350. Per *anax* come titolo divino cfr. J. PUHVEL, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, 1956, pg. 204.

(CNOSSO Fp 5, 1), un nome di divinità, un nome teoforo, e forse anche l'epiteto tanto discusso di *diwios* [21]).

Non contraddice alla preminenza del „Padre degli dei" la sua posizione dopo il dio patrono nel calendario di offerte di Pilo; è facile invocar paralleli in documenti greci di varie epoche (tanto per fare un esempio, il calendario di Miconos) [22]).

Sempre a Pilo il rito accomuna, nello stesso santuario, a Zeus („*Diwei*") la dea Hera, che sarà quindi certamente sua sposa, o almeno, per usar un linguaggio caro agli storici della religione, paredra: *Era,* con una forma che contrasta a tutte le più accreditate etimologie. Il nome ritorna, senza definito contesto che ci illumini, a Cnosso, dove si parla anche di Heraion (forse un santuario della dea: *Erajo*) e di una *eraia,* forse sacerdotessa o nome teoforo [23]). La indicazione sicura di Pilo è sufficiente ad ogni modo per confermar con sicurezza il carattere miceneo della tradizione argolica epica che pone Hera „l'argiva" a fianco di Zeus alla corte di Olimpo.

Sempre nello stesso testo famoso e discusso di Pilo (Tn 316, 10) subito dopo Zeus e Hera un'altra divinità vien ricordata, sulla quale fervon le discussioni e le interpretazioni contrastano: *Dirimijo diwoijewe* (dativo). *Diwijewe* è un nome divino che gli studiosi di miceneo hanno incontrato altre volte, in tavolette di offerte varie, legato a cose sacrali, e talvolta con l'epiteto di *Ereuterewe.* Credo si debba accoglier la felice intuizione del Gallavotti che interpreta: Διὸς υἱεῖ (da un nominativo *ijús*): figlio di Zeus [24]). Per la storia della religione si tratta di

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21) *Diwo* PILO An 172, 7, cfr. CNOSSO DX 1503; *Diwei* CNOSSO F 51 (dat.); *Diwijojo,* CNOSSO Fp 5 (mese); *Diwia* CNOSSO X 97, cfr. PILO An 607, 5 (*Diwija*); *Diwjo,* Tn 316, 8; *Diwjiata* Nn 228, 4; *diwopukata,* Fp. 369, 3 cfr. MÜHLESTEIN, *art. cit.* 83, PUGLIESE, pg. 602, FURUMARK, 1954, pg. 34; PALMER, *Eranos,* 1955, pg. 2; SITTIG, *Minos,* 1955, pg. 89; PUHVEL, *Eranos,* 1956, pg. 14.

22) Cfr. DITTENBERGER, *Syll.* III 3, 1024.

23) PILO Tn 316, 9; cfr. PILO Un 11, 8; CNOSSO As 821, X 722 Dw 1404 (il dubbio che si tratti di toponimi è affacciato da FURUMARK, *Eranos* II, 1954, pg. 54, 1; PUGLIESE, *Riflessi di culti,* pg. 605; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 126; l'identificazione, discussa anche dal PUHVEL, *Eranos,* 1956, pg. 14 e sgg. è accolta oltre che da GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti,* pg. 36; da SCHROEDER, *Würzburg Gymnasium,* 1956, (63, 1-2) pg. 60 e sgg); *erajo:* CNOSSO X 726; *eraja* V 461 +.

24) La nuova lettura *diwoijewe* (*V.C. Documents,* 172) non contrasta, anzi conferma la acuta interpretazione di GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti e struttura,* pg. 50 e sgg.; *Riv. fil. class.,* 1956, pg. 225 e sgg.. Diversamente PALMER, *Eranos,* 1956, pg. 314; FURUMARK, *art. cit.,* 1955, 5, n. 2; MERIGGI, *Arch. glottologico.* 1954, pg.

una lettura importantissima: la designazione del dio mediante un rapporto di parentela postula l'esistenza, sotto tanti aspetti plausibile, di una mitologia „micenea", e viene indirettamente a confermarne il carattere antropomorfico.

Non credo però di poter concordare con il Gallavotti sulla identità di questo „figlio di Zeus", che secondo la sua interessante interpretazione sarebbe Dioniso. Quando dicevano „figlio di Zeus": Διὸς υἱός senza aggiungere il nome del padre, e neppure il nome della madre, i Greci di età storica di solito intendevano senz'altro il dio Apollo. E se dicevano al duale παῖδε „i due figli", intendevano i due figli gemelli di Zeus e Latona, Apollo e Artemis [25]). Non mi pare vi sia ragione di non tener conto di una tradizione cultuale che si riflette in documenti epigrafici e letterari innumerevoli, dall'età arcaica ai secoli più tardi. E' vero che il nome di Apollo non si è per ora ancora trovato in testi micenei. Ma in una frammentaria tavoletta di offerte di Cnosso insieme ad Atena potnia, a Enyalios e Posidone è annoverato il dio *Pajawo(ne)* (CNOSSO V 52: ΠαιαϜώνει). In tale contesto rituale, e insieme a quegli dei „olimpici", la divinità a cui si sacrifica sarà Apollo Παιών, non il mitico Paion dell'Iliade, mai oggetto di singolare devozione. Questo sembra confermato dal nome del mese *pajanijo,* in cui, qualunque possano essere le obbiezioni dei linguisti in base a schemi necessariamente oggi da rivedere, è evidente il legame, se non direttamente con l'altra forma alterna di Apollo παιάν, con il grido rituale ἰὴ ... παιάν [26]), certo antichissimo nel culto del dio.

Apollo d'altronde è il solo dio greco che porti l'epiteto cultuale di *Drymas, Drymaios,* molto vicino al miceneo *dirimijo* (δρυμίω): e

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85; MÜHLESTEIN, *Minos,* 1956, pg. 87; PUGLIESE, *loc. cit.* pg. 610; MERIGGI, *Glotta* XXIV, 25, n. 2; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 172. Per Διὸς υἱός, Διόπαις, Διὸς παῖς cfr. BRUCKMANN, *Epitheta deorum,* 1893, s.v. *Apollon;* PW s.v. *Apollon* III, 21 sgg.

25) Se si accetta la identificazione delle statue di Drero data dagli archeologi (Latona, Apollo e Artemis), il culto dei due Gemelli in Creta è attestato fino dall' VIII secolo (cfr. NILSSON, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion,* 2, 1950, pg. 450).

26) *pajawo(nei)* (*Evidence* 95 a) è dativo di offerta (v. FURUMARK, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 34; PALMER, ibidem, pg. 12; PUGLIESE, *Riflessi di culti,* pg. 612; MERIGGI, *Glossario,* s.v.; cfr. anche SITTIG, *art. cit.,* 89); per Apollo παιών e παιάν cfr. BRUCKMANN, *op. cit.,* s.v. (solo testi letterari, documentazione incompleta); P.W. II 40-63, s.v. *Apollon,* FARNELL, *op. cit.* IV, pg. 408. Oltre che nella forma più consueta di ἰὴ (ἴε) παιάν il grido rituale si trova anche nella forma ἰὴ (ἴε) παιών

a Drymía, città della Focide [27]). Nè contraddice alla identificazione, a mio avviso, l'altro epiteto delle tavolette pilie, *ereuterewe* [28]). *Eleuthèr* è antico epiteto rituale di Apollo legato nella tradizione cultuale al Peloponneso [29]). Una conferma indiretta alla presenza di Apollo nel pantheon miceneo viene d'altronde da un'altra tavoletta pilia dove si legge il nome di una divinità, *Oqawoni* (dat: Ὀπάονι: PILO Fn 324,16), che è epiteto cultuale di Apollo a Pafo in Cipro, Apollo *Opaon* [30]).

All'ambiente sacrale apollineo ci richiamano infine una serie di vocaboli micenei solitamente interpretati come nomi propri di persona, ma non ancora sempre chiaramente interpretabili: *Puteu* (PILO Jn 431,2), *Putija* (An 340,10) (Πυθιάς), *Rukijo* (Λύκιος) (PILO Gn 720; Jn 415,1), *Rukoworo* (Es 644, cfr 650) (Λυκοῦρος), *Daphununiko*: Δαφνυνίκος(?) (As 1516 2), *Poitijo* (Ποίτιος) (CNOSSO Da 1314b): vocaboli di straordinario interesse, ricchi di nuove prospettive per la più antica storia del culto apollineo. Balena da essi la possibilità che il fondamentale culto di Apollo Pitico (*Pythios, Pytheus, Poitios* a Creta) [31]) risalga in Grecia al II millennio; e che sia più antico di quanto non pensassero gli storici della religione, i linguisti e i filologi il culto tanto discusso in Grecia di Apollo Lykios (Lykeios, Lykoreus, Lykoreios [32])). Quanto al nome di *Daphnunikos*, se se ne accetta la

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(Aristoph., *Pax* 453, *G.D.I.* IV, 884), ἰὴ παιήων (Aristoph., *Lysistr.*, 1291; *h. ad Ap.*, 517).

27) Cfr. Tzetzes *apud* Lykophr., 522. Il nome di *Drymia* in Focide, connesso col culto delfico, fa pensare che non si tratti di epiteto "barbarico" (cfr. *Fouilles de Delphes* IL, 6, 1939, 32, 5). Differenti e discordi interpretazioni di *dirimijo* danno FURUMARK, *art. cit.*, 1954, pg. 51-2; MERIGGI, *Arch. glott.*, 1954, pg. 83 e sgg.; *Glotta* XXIV, pg. 25, n. 2; *Glossario* (Zeus); CHADWICK, *Minos*, 1956, pg. 21, (epiteto di sacerdote o eroe).

28) *Ereuterewe diwijewe:* PILO Cn 3. 2; cfr. Wa 917, 2 (*ereuterewe* soltanto nella serie pilia Es. 645 +). Il GALLAVOTTI nel citato articlo in corso di stampa (pg. 8) affaccia ora la interessante ipotesi che possa trattarsi di Ares.

29) Steph. Byzant. a proposito di *Eleuther* in Beozia: ἀπὸ Ἐλευθῆρος τοῦ Ἀπολλῶνος. (Diversament GALLAVOTTI, *art. cit.*, pg. 233: Dioniso Eleuther).

30) *opawoni:* dativo di nome divino secondo GEORGIEV, *Études mycéniennes*, pg. 52; cfr. per Apollo *Opaon* a Pafo *J.H.S.*, 1888, pg. 261; *R.E.G.* II, pg. 225, FARNELL, *op. cit.* IV, pg. 361.

31) πυθαεύς: cfr. FARNELL, *op. cit.*, pg. 394; WILAMOWITZ, *op. cit.* II, 32. πύθεος: KAIBEL 1039 2; ROBERT, *Hellenica* VI, pg. 34; ibidem, pg. 113. ποίτιος: FARNELL *op. cit.* II 588 (DITTENBERGER 3, pg. 527) (a Creta).

32) Λύκιος: cfr. Pindar. *Pyth.* I, 74; Aristophan., *Eq.* 230 etc.; DITTENBERGER 963; (Λυκωρεύς: Callimach. *h.* II, 19; AP. VI 541; Apoll. Rhod. III, 1490 Λυκώρειος; cfr. per la documentazione relativa al culto FARNELL, *loc. cit.* e P.W.).

suggestiva lettura si viene implicitamente ad anticipare al XIV secolo il carattere sacrale dell'alloro, legato indissolubilmente al culto apollineo (Apollo *Daphenephoros*), e già fin dall'età micenea impiegato a incoronare i vincitori [33]).

Non abbiamo invece elementi per stabilire se il dio venerato in Peloponneso e a Creta, già „guaritore" per i Micenei (*Paiawonei*) alla metà del II millennio, fosse, come par verosimile, già il dio arciere di tutta la tradizione greca. E quindi solo in forma di plausibile ipotesi possiamo attribuirgli l'epiteto isolato di *tokosota* (τοξότας) di una iscrizione cnossia senza contesto (X 7624): epiteto attestato per l'età storica solo da documenti letterari tardivi [34]). La presenza del nome di Artemis nei testi micenei (nella forma meno consueta con il τ (*Atemitos doera*) PILO Es 650,5: cfr. Un 219,5: *Atimite*) [35]), fa sorger spontanea la ipotesi che già risalga a questa epoca „micenea" il legame che indissolubilmente lega nel mito greco i due divini Gemelli. Una tale ipotesi verrebbe confermata, se si potesse sicuramente interpretare παῖδε (come è stato autorevolmente proposto) il terzo dativo d'offerta a divinità nella tavoletta di Zeus Ditteo e in altri testi cnossi: *PADE* [36]).

Poche, ma più sicure le indicazioni relative a due altre grandi divinità dell'Olimpo classico, Ares e Hermes. E' vero che il nome di Ares a Cnosso appare in una tavoletta senza contesto (*Are,* X 5816,2). Ma i nomi propri, o epiteti di persona, *arejo* e *areijo* (CNOSSO Vc 208, 1641; PILO An 656,1) a Cnosso e a Pilo, a Pilo l'epiteto *panarejo* [37]), danno la certezza che quel nome si riferisce al bellicoso dio olimpio, non al mitico cavallo Areion, figlio di Posidone. Non vi è quindi ragione di dubitare che si invochi ancora Ares con il ben noto epiteto di *Enya-*

33) Cfr. GEORGIEV, *Études Mycéniennes*, pg. 74.

34) *tokosota* CNOSSO X 7624 cfr. per Apollo τοξότας (-ης) IG XII 44 (Nasso); AP IX, 58; *Orphic. Hymni* 55 (τοξήρης Euripid., *Rhes.* 226; *toxios* a Sicione, v. Hesych. s.v.). Altri nomi lgati al culto di Apollo potrebbero essere. *tirijopa* CNOSSO Sc. 226, Vc 303, 1 (*Tryops*); *ijate*(ra) *PILO* Eq 146, 9: cfr. GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti e struttura* pg. 78, 198 (ἰατήρ) (v. KAIBEL *Ep.* 798, 1).

35) Cfr. *V.C. Documents* pg. 127, n. 117; per la forma Ἀρτέμιτος in Messenia e Laconia e Egeo cfr. *I.G.* V, I, 960, 10; 602, 11; XII 3, 269 (DITTENBERGER 145, 765, 1-10); cfr. anche Ἀρτεμίτιον: *IG* 14, 217, 14 (Acrae).

36) CNOSSO Fp. 1, 4; v. SITTIG, *Minos* III, pg. 82 (per παῖδε in questo senso v. ad es. Soph., fr. 113 BERGK).

37) *Panarejo* CNOSSO V 04 As 1516, 1517, U 6478, PILO Fn 867; *Areijo*, 1641 (535). La interpretazione di *are* come nome divino in CNOSSO, Fp 14 è sostenuta da GALLAVOTTI nell'articolo in corso citato, pg. 2.

lios, proprio del dio da Omero alla più tarda antichità [38]) e sicuramente epiteto divino a Cnosso e Pilo in tavolette di offerte: *Enywarijo*: Ἐνυάλιος (CNOSSO V 52,2, cfr. PILO An 724).

Il nome di Hermes ricorre due volte a Pilo, sempre al dativo di offerta: *Emaa* (Ἑρμᾷ PILO Un 219,8); e una nel calendario di Pilo in un nesso in complesso abbastanza oscuro (*Emaa areja* Tn 316,7). Vale la pena di notare ad ogni modo che dei due caratteristici inseparabili epiteti di Hermes nel formulario omerico: *diáktoros argeiphóntes* il primo richiama il già citato nome, o epiteto, di *akoto*: (ἄκτορος ?) (CNOSSO Sc 639). Il secondo a sua volta potrebbe senza sforzo rientrar nella serie dei composti micenei in *-qota* (-φόντης Ventris: *rawoqota, poruqota* etc.) [39]).

Chiude, almeno per ora, la schiera delle divinità maschili „olimpie" ricordate nei testi „micenei" il nome di Efesto, *Hephaistos,* presente, se non direttamente, nel nome teoforo, o epiteto, di *Haphaistios* (*apaitijio*) in una tavoletta cnossia (L 588,1) [40]). E poichè da Omero a Nonno l'epiteto caratteristico di Efesto è l'epiteto di ἀμφιγυήεις che allude al camminar sgraziato del divino Storpio appoggiato alle grucce, val la pena di chiedersi se non si debba attribuire ad Efesto il miceneo *Apiqoita, Apiqota* (Amphibates, *Amphiphoitas*) ricorrente più volte a Cnosso e a Pilo (CNOSSO Ak 824, C 915, PILO Jn 413,6; An 261+), inteso ora come nome proprio ora come aggettivo.

Quanto alle divinità femminili „olimpie", inaspettatamente per ora la dea ricordata più spesso a Creta è *Eileithyia,* citata nelle tavolette di offerte di Cnosso nella forma cultuale peloponnesiaca, cioè laconica e messenica, di *Eureutija* (Ἐλευθία) (CNOSSO Gg 705, Od 714, 715). In una di queste tavolette cultuali, dove è indicata, o prescritta, l'offerta di un'anfora di miele, il culto della dea è posto in rapporto con il sito di Amniso in Creta (*Aminiso*) già segnalato come centro del suo culto nell'Odissea, e famoso ancora per un santuario della dea al tempo di Strabone [41]).

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38) Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen,* pg. 104; Deubner, *op. cit.,* pg. 118; per la identificazione *Ares-Enyalios* oltre i poemi, cfr. come esempio del culto *IG* IV. 717, 2 (Argolide); *IG* III, 1, 2 (Attica).

39) Per composti in *-pota* (: *-phontes*) cfr. *V.C. Documents* pg. 94-5. *argos* è postulato su ἄργυρον da Gallavotti, *Parola del passato,* 1956. pg. 21, Ventris, *Eranos,* 1955. pg. 117,

40) *V.C. Documents,* pg. 126; cfr. Dittenberger, 3, 1091.

41) Homer. *Odyss.,* XIX, 188-90, Strab. X 476, 8; Paus., I, 18, 15; cfr. per il

Ignoriamo naturalmente se nel culto cnossio Eleuthia sia la figlia di Zeus come nel mito e nel culto greco; e neppur possiamo stabilire a tutt'oggi se ad Amniso sia soltanto venerata come dea del parto o se la sfera delle sue attribuzioni sia nel II millennio a. C. più vasta, come potrebbe far pensare la duplice identificazione, in età storica, con Demetra e con Artemis.

Quanto alle maggiori dee olimpie, oltre ad Hera e ad Artemis, è ricordata Atena a Creta e a Micene (*Atana*). Nella già citata tavoletta rituale di Cnosso la troviamo in testa all'elenco di Olimpii (*Enyalios, Paiawon, Poseidaon*). Il suo nome, e quindi la sua presenza certa nel Pantheon miceneo, ci permette di ricondurre alla sua sfera sacrale i termini di *Daidaleo(n)* e *Palla(n)tio(n)* di altre tavolette micenee di Creta. Il rapporto del secondo dei due termini con Atena (Παλλάς) balza evidente senza commenti; e forse più che *Pallantion* potrebbe essere suggestivo legger *Palladion* (*Paratijio*; CNOSSO C 914 A; cfr. Dg 1235) in tavolette con offerte di arieti e capri (Παλλάδιον: Παλλά(ν)τιον ? [42])). Quanto al *Daidaleon,* ricordato più di una volta, e in particolare come mèta di offerte rituali al secondo posto nella tavoletta di Zeus ditteo (*Dadareode* Δαιδαλέον δέ Fp 1, 3 Furumark, Meriggi), era questo ancora al tempo di Pausania il nome di un antichissimo *xoanon* ligneo di Atena in Creta [43]). Se a Micene e a Creta Atena fosse figlia di Zeus non possiamo dire. La dea *Diwia* o *Diwija* del Calendario Tn 316 e di altri testi di Pilo potrebbe essere anche un'altra delle figlie di Zeus, o una delle altre dee che portano il nome di Δῖα, Δία nel culto e nel mito greco; forse Ebe, ancora venerata sotto questo secondo nome in età augustea a Sicione e a Fliunte [44]).

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nome PUGLIESE, *loc. cit.,* pg. 601; FURUMARK, *loc. cit.,* 1954, pg. 34; *V.C. Documents* 205-6 ('Ελευσία in Laconia, 'Ελευθία in Messenia; cfr. *IG* V, 1, 1445); v. WILAMOWITZ, *op. cit.,* I, 90; NILSSON, *op. cit.,* pg. 519-20.

42) CNOSSO Dg 1235 (GEORGIEV). Al lume di questa interpretazione, assume particolare interesse l'importante scoperta dell'arcaicissimo "palladio" di Atena (VIII-VII secolo?) rinvenuto durante gli scavi della scuola archeologica italiana nel sito dell'antichissimo tempio della dea, sul colle abitato fin dal neolitico (cfr. D. LEVI, *La parola del passato,* 1956, fig. 10, pg. 285 e sgg. (cfr. il dativo *paratei* An 813) (παλλαντίας è epiteto di Atena AP VI, 247, 6).

43) Pausania IX, 40, 3 (per la lettura di Fp 1, 3 cfr. FURUMARK, 1954, pg. 34, SITTIG, *art. cit.* pg. 89, PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *art. cit.,* pg. 602).

44) Cfr. PALMER, *Eranos,* 1955, pg. 5; GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti,* pg. 40, MÜHLESTEIN, *Minos,* 1956, pg. 86; per δῖα epiteto di Ebe a Sicione cfr. Strabone 328, 37.

Nè possiamo affermare che risalga sicuramente all'età micenea, come è per altri motivi probabile, la *Aigis,* la famosa egida di Atena e di Zeus; se pur *waiki-* è sicura radice micenea, per ora non esiste in alcun testo parola che si possa legger senza sforzatura come *Aigis* o *Aigiochos.* Sempre al lume della ormai accertata origine „micenea" di Atena Pallade, sarà interessante invece notare come l'antico epiteto rituale di *Ergane,* di particolar rilievo nel culto delfico ma diffuso per un'area assai vasta, si presenti più volte sotto la forma alterna di Ὀργάνη spiccatamente micenea [45]).

Nei due soli testi dove si legge con sicurezza il nome di Atena, tutt'e due le volte è seguito da un epiteto: *Atana a(n)tia* (MICENE X 1 1956 [46]), *Atana potinija* (Ἀθανᾷ ποτνίᾳ CNOSSO V 52). L'epiteto del testo di Micene si ritrova soltanto in un frammento di Alceo, come attributo cultuale di Zeus nel *temenos* messeo dei Lesbii (ἀντιάος: Lobel Page fr. 130) [47]).

L'epiteto della tavoletta cnossia, assai più importante, assicura l'antichità del nesso formulario fra il nome di Atena e l'attributo solenne di *Potnia*: nesso attestato già dai poemi omerici, e particolarmente dall'Odissea, ma rimasto vivo nella tradizione letteraria e cultuale fino alla tarda antichità [48]). E mi pare particolarmente significativo che una simile testimonianza venga da Cnosso, e risalga con sicurezza alla metà del II millennio a. C.

Naturalmente questo non implica, come d'altronde è stato da più parti notato, che sia sempre e solo Atena la *Potinija* il cui nome ricorre più volte (e con vari derivativi) a Cnosso come a Pilo; e che sia proprio Atena la dea adorata nel *potinijawejon,* il santuario o sacello della Potnia (CNOSSO D 1930 A, X 7742, PILO Un 249, 1; Jn 310, 14 + cfr. Eq 213, 5) [49]). Nel culto greco di età storica altre dee vengono

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45) Cfr. Soph., fr. 760 NAUCK; Hesych. s.v.; J. POUILLOUX, *Recherches sur l'histoire et le culte de Thasos,* 1954 pg. 327, XXXIX (*IG* XII sup. 380, 1); cfr. *IG* II, 1329. Altro epiteto di derivazione "micenea" potrebbe essere quello di *Atena kydonia* (Lykophron. 930); cfr. il toponimo *kudonija* (CNOSSO C 59, 3 b).

46) Lettura del VENTRIS (*V.C. Documents* 126).

47) Alceo fr. 129 LOBEL-PAGE; cfr. STELLA, *La parola del passato,* 1956, pg. 324 e la bibliografia ivi.

48) Esempi di πότνια usato ad indicare Atena senza il nome della dea: Hesiod., *Theog.,* 926, Eripid., *Herakl.,* 770, Aristoph., *Eq.* 1170, Callimach. *h.* V, 86; KAIBEL, *Ep.* 776, 114.

49) *Potinija* senza il nome di Atena: PILO Cc 665, Fn 187, Tn 316, 3, Vn 48

salutate con il nome di *Potnia*; in particolar modo Artemis, e con frequenza anche maggiore, talora senza il nome, Demetra [50]). Forse potrebbe essere ancora Atena la signora del Labirinto, la Πότνια Λαβυρίνθοιο (*Potinija dapuritojo* CNOSSO Gg 702, 2) per cui è ricordata, o prescritta, insieme a „tutti gli dei" (*pasi eoi*) un'offerta di miele a Cnosso [51]): il ricordo di un antico potere di Atena sul „Labirinto" cretese (il palazzo della Labrys), è rimasto vivo nella tradizione attica e ionica nel mito di Teseo.

Non credo invece che sia Atena la *Potnia* del calendario rituale di Pilo, dove il nome è legato al santuario, per ora di incerta ubicazione, di Pakija (Tn 316 rev. 283) (*Pakijasi ... potinija una coppa d'oro ...*)

Poichè non il nome di Atena ma il nome di Demetra, *Damate* (Δαμάτηρ PILO En 609, 1), da intendersi a mio giudizio nel pieno significato religioso, sta in testa a una lunga e discussa iscrizione di Pilo che riguarda a mio parere terreni di proprietà del santuario e del personale del culto (*Pakijanija tosa Damate* Da 4: „nel santuario di Pakjia tanti son per Demetra gli acri di terreno ..." [51])

Se si accetta questa interpretazione, che, dopo tante discussioni e obbiezioni mi sembra la più plausibile (*Damater* non ha mai significato la terra in greco ha solo la dea), ne consegue che la dea di cui parlano tutti i testi pilii relativi al santuario di Pakija: *theos* (*teo:* θεός, En 74+), senza alcuna specificazione quale dea del santuario, è, come a Eleusi, Demetra.

Un ulteriore apporto alla conoscenza del culto di Demetra in Egeo nell'età del bronzo potrà essere cercato nei documenti cosidetti „cipro-

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(cfr. le felici osservazioni di S. Luria, *Minos,* 1957, pg. 45). La identificazione della *potinjia Asiwija* di PILO 1206 (1955) An con la dea Atena venerata nel santuario montano di Atena Asia (Pausan. III, 2, 4, 6), avanzata, credo per la prima volta, da A. J. A. Townsend Vermeule, 1957, pg. 61, incontra a mio avviso difficoltà nella menzione di una *Asijojo Era* (CNOSSO G 726). E'annunciato sulla Potnia un lavoro di Chadwick e su Demetra micenea uno di Gallavotti.

50) Per il titolo di *Potnia* dato a Demetra in età classica oltre i testi letterari (*h. hom. ad Demetr.* 5, 39, Callimach. fr. 6,59 etc) particolarmente importante il grido rituale dello jerofante eleusino: ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον (v. Hippolyt. *Ref.* 5, 8, 596, 16 W); per *damate* cfr. Furumark, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 40; T. B. L. Webster, *Lond. Bull. Class.,* 1954, pg. 13. La identificazione colla dea è messa in dubbio da Meriggi e più decisamente da Pugliese Carratelli, *Parola del passato,* 1954, pg. 225; cfr. anche *V.C. Documents,* pg. 114.

51) CNOSSO G 702, 2; cfr. Palmer, *Lond. Bull. Class.,* 1955, pg. 40; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 205; cfr. anche *V.C. Documents,* 114.

minoici" di Cipro quando verrà confermata da ulteriori studi e ricerche la suggestiva lettura da parte del Sittig di una tavoletta di Enkomi del XIV secolo, dove si troverebbe ricordato un santuario Ἐν Ἔλει (*En Elei*) col culto di Demetra *Oreia* (*Oreira*) e Raria (*Raras*) e forse di Persefone *Agne* [52]).

Per ora, al nome di Damater a Pilo possiamo metter vicino solo il nome di Erinys (*Erinu* dativ., Furumark) CNOSSO Fp 1, 8; cfr. Fs 390) in tavolette d'offerta di Cnosso [53]).

Infatti Demetra *Erinys* da tempo antichissimo aveva nell'ambiente conservatore e appartato di Arcadia un culto legato a un singolare mito di ierogamia teriomorfa; ed ancora al tempo di Pausania al centro di questo culto era Lusoi, uno dei toponimi ricordati nelle tavolette micenee (*Rowso*: Aa 717 + etc.) [54]). Fra gli altri epiteti della dea, per ora senza riscontro nel vocabolario miceneo, val la pena ad ogni modo di riscontrare l'epiteto di *Kamyne* (Χαμύνη); epiteto cultuale, che suggestivamente, e forse non casualmente, richiama il termine miceneo per i terreni coltivabili (*Kama, Kamaeus*) [55]). Alla sfera sacrale di Demetra, e in particolare di Demetra Eleusinia, ci potrebbero ricondure nei testi micenei il nome di un mese: *daeritojo* (CNOSSO Gg 702, 2(?)) (Carratelli) da collegare a Δάειρα, nome rituale di Persefone a Eleusi [56]); e in un'altra tavoletta di offerte cnossia il nome sicuramente rituale di *Obrimó* (*O(b)rimode* Ὀβριμῷ: CNOSSO Fp. 13, 2), altro antico nome rituale della stessa dea [57]).

Se poi si accetta la interpretazione che il Georgiev dà di *upoio potinija* come Signora degli inferi (ὑπωίων ποτνίᾳ) in un'altra tavoletta

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52) Cfr. E. Sittig, *Nouvelle Clio*, 6/1954, pg. 478-90: che legge *orea* ὀρεῖα: r. 5, 8, 11; cfr. *orea* PILO Ep 705, 7: detto di Demetra da Aristoph. *Aves*, 746 Euripid. *Helen.* 1302 cfr. *IG* XII 7, 75) *raria* (ῥάρια: r. 2, cfr. Pausan. 1, 43; v. anche PW s.v. *Raros*).

53) Dativo per Furumark, 1954, pg. 34; *V.C. Documents*, pg. 124, 143; plurale dat. per Meriggi, *Glossario* s.v.; cfr. peraltro Carratelli, *Riflessi*, pg. 603.

54) Pausan. VIII, 25, 6; cfr. Antimaco fr. 28 Kinkel, Lykophron. 153; *C.I.A.*, 717; Callimach. fr. 207; per *Lousoi* nella toponomastica micenea cfr. *V.C. Documents*, pg. 145.

55) Pausan. VI, 20, 9, 21. Olympia (*Inschriften*) V, 485, 3; per *kama* e *kamaeus* cfr. Meriggi, *Glossario*; Bennett, *A.J.A.*, 1956, pg. 119.

56) *Daeritojo* nome di mese per Pugliese, *Culti*, pg. 603: per Δαεῖρα, δαερῖτις a Eleusi cfr. *CIA*, 2, 741, 3; 1358, 12; Pollux, *Onom.* I, 35; Etymol. Magnum s.v.; Schol ad Apoll. Rhod. II, 847 (v. P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1914, p. 220).

pilia di ardua esegesi (PILO Fn 187, 8) e si intende come epiteto divino il termine di *Klymenos* che anticipa un epiteto di Ades (CNOSSO Sc 256; cfr. PILO Sn 645: *kurumeno* (κλύμενος)) in contesti oscuri e discussi, par di veder aprirsi uno spiraglio anche sul miceneo regno degli Inferi [58]). Ma a questo punto siamo già fuori dal mondo „olimpio" dei poemi omerici; si entra nella sfera delle divinità ctonie elleniche, a cui fanno capo in età storica tutti i riti misterici di Grecia. Nell'orbita di questa religione extraolimpica, che già oltre un ventennio fa Raffaele Pettazzoni [59]) aveva felicemente intuito, religione antichissima delle genti rurali di Grecia, un documento di Pilo ci svela il nome, forse più di ogni altro inatteso, di Dioniso [60]): *Diwonusoio* (Xa 102, gen., Διϝονύ(σ)σοιο).

Sulla base di questa testimonianza, della quale non si vede ragione di dubitare, mi pare lecito riferire alla sfera sacrale dionisiaca a Pilo il nome di Zagreus (*Sakere(u)*, PILO Ea 776, Jn 431, 17) e di *Omestás* (*Ometa*, Georgiev: ὠμηστάς PILO An 654, 3) detto del dio, o di un suo devoto o sacerdote.

E' stato poi rilevato di recente come non manchi nelle tavolette micenee la testimonianza di un culto a divinità della luce: in una tavoletta rituale di Cnosso per una offerta di miele è ricordata la Dea Mene, antico nome cultuale di Selene (*mena*: CNOSSO Gg 717), con altra divinità per cui il Ventris ha suggerito la seducente integrazione di (*iperi*)*one* (ὑπερίονι) [61]).

E d'altronde il nome, o epiteto, di *Awoijo* (PILO Cn 399, 5; Ἠωῖος) par postulare la presenza, già in età micenea, della dea Eos, così affine alla Ushas dei Veda, divinità più di ogni altra prettamente

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57) Lykophron. 698 (in Fp 13 anche secondo GEORGIEV, *Etudes Mycéniennes*, pg. 69, si tratta di dativo di nome divino. Cfr. GEORGIEV, *Et. Myc.*, pg. 70. La interpretazione generale della tavoletta come relativa a riti di incinerazione trova grave ostacolo nei dati archeologici (i Micenei praticavano la inumazione nell'epoca dei nostri testi); diversa, ma analoga quanto a senso, è la interpretazione di LURIA, *Minos*, 1957, pg. 47.

58) Per *Kurimeno: Evidence*, 95a (v. anche PALMER, *Eranos*, 1956, pg. 4), cfr. Hesiod. fr. 264; *I.G.* 409, 1197, 1199, 1120.

59) R. PETTAZONI, *La Religione nella Grecia antica*, 1921, pg. 73 (II ediz. 1953).

60) *Evidence* 95a, cfr. GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti*, pg. 40, *Riv. fil. class.*, 1956, pg.23; MÜHLESTEIN, *Minos*, 1956, pg. 88 (dubbiosi il PUGLIESE e il VENTRIS).

61) *V.C. Documents*, pg. 309.

indoeuropea, e più tardi viva nel mito, senza rilievo nel culto ellenico [62]). Per Creta ci resta nelle tavolette cnossie testimonianza del culto di quelli che sono nel mito greco i Figli di Aurora, i Venti, (*Anemo ijereia*: CNOSSO, Fp 1, 10 +: Ἀνέμων ἱερέια [63]), e di uno, di Zefiro, leggiamo una volta anche il nome.

Inoltre, il ricorrere nelle tavolette micenee di espressioni implicanti concetti etico-religiosi come *themis, dike, nike,* o domestico-religiosi come *estiawon* fanno balenare la possibilità, peraltro finora non documentabile, che anche altre divinità greche come Nike e Themi e Hestia e Dike appartengano al pantheon miceneo [64]).

Non sarà inutile notare poi, a chiusura di questa rassegna certo tutt'altro che definitiva, (e da lasciar anzi aperta in attesa di dati nuovi e nuove letture degli ultimi documenti scoperti) che nei testi micenei si leggono in diversi contesti, e talora forse come nomi o epiteti di persone, vocaboli che sono in età storica epiteti correnti di dei: *Agoraios, Aktaios, Aigaios, Akester, Anaktor.* [65])

D'altra parte, allo stato attuale degli studi micenei una ricerca anche preliminare e provvisoria sulla religione „micenea" non sarà inquadrata in una giusta prospettiva se non terrà conto di altri elementi importanti, oltre questo pur cospicuo gruppo di numi ellenici che la lettura dei documenti finora scoperti e decifrati ha rivelato. Vi sono negli stessi testi o in altri anche divinità a noi ignote: con nomi talora greci come

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62) GEORGIEV, *Lexique,* pg. 35; cfr. *V.C. Documents,* pg. 97; (GEORGIEV legge anche *Orion* in CNOSSO Dw 1103, 1116). Per il mito di Eos cfr. L. A. STELLA, *Mitologia greca,* 1956, pg. 286 e sgg.

63) Cfr. FURUMARK pg. 60; PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *Riflessi di culti,* pg. 601; LURIA, *Minos* 1957 pg. 48. La lettura di *Zephyros* è di GEORGIEV, *Et. Myc.* pg. 75, accolta da PALMER, *Bull. Lond.,* 1955, pg. 40; v. Pausan. XI, 12, 1. Per il culto dei Venti in età storica cfr. FARNELL, *Cults of Greek States* V, 498; ROBERT, *Hellenica* IX, 1950, pg. 59.

64) *temi* CNOSSO So 894+, So 449, Cfr. *outemi* (V 280: οὐθέμις GEORGIEV; v. *V.C. Documents* 207, MÜHLESTEIN, *Die Oka Tafeln,* 1956, pg. 20 e 70), *temita* CNOSSO So 894+, PILO Sa 791, 3 (PALMER, *Minos* IV 137); An 661, 12 è da leggere θέμι(σ)τος ἀγέει : cfr. GEORGIEV, *loc. cit.,* pag. 76; *etiwajo* PILO Wa 1512 (cfr. GEORGIEV, loc. cit., pg. 166, K. Z. PUHVEL, 1955, pg. 218) (v. CNOSSO Fs 19, 1 *etiwa dike* MIC. Oe 29).

65) *Aikeu* PILO Ta 641, 10 (*Aigeus epiteto* cultuale di Apollo, Posidone etc.); *akorajo* CNOSSO Cn 907; As 1516, *Akoraja* Co 901 (*Agoraios* epiteto di Zeus, Atemis, Atena, Hermes); *akatajo*: CNOSSO Dv 1086, PILO Eo 269 (*Aktaios* epiteto di Posidone, Hermes e Apollo). *Anaktor* epiteto di Posidone, Zeus, Hermes : per *anaktero* v. nota 137).

Ipemedeja, (Tn 316,6) [66]), *Dopotes* (*dopote,* ibidem 15 rev.), *Triseros* (*tiriseros* ibidem) [67]), *Therasias* (*qerasija,* CNOSSO Fp 1,6 +) [68]), ma non rispondenti a nomi o epiteti di divinità greche di età storica; talora forse anche non greci, come *Manasa* (*manasa*(?) Tn 316 rev. 4), forse anche *Wedanewo* (dat. *Wedanewe* nell'offerta di cereali a Pilo Es 646 + con *diwijewe, posedaone*; cfr. Es 644 *Wedanewo doero*), verosimilmente un dio, come ha messo in rilievo il Gallavotti [69]); e infine la misteriosa divinità ricordata nel calendario cnossio tra Ipemedeia e Diwjia (*Pere* "82: *peleia* (?) [70]).

Se poi ci volgiamo, come è naturale, a chiedere qualche ausilio ai monumenti e documenti archeologici „micenei", il problema si fa anche più complesso e la ricerca più ardua. Certo ora possiamo anche più fondatamente dare il nome di Atena alla figura femminile armata di grande scudo, dea o xoanon, della ben nota tavoletta dipinta di Micene. [71]) E possiamo anche, con grande verosimiglianza, se non proprio con certezza, avanzare l'ipotesi che sia il Figlio di Zeus, Apollo, la divina figura che il paziente lavoro di restauro e di raccolta degli archeologi americani ha ricomposto sull'affresco parietale di fondo della grande Sala del Trono di Pilo: solenne figura ammantata che regge in

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66) *Iphimedeia:* FURUMARK, *Eranos,* 1954, 14-53; MERIGGI, *Glossario* s.v.; PUHVEL; *V.C. Documents* 172, pg. 288 (v. *Od.* XI 288); *Hypermedeia,* GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti* 36. *Dopota* variante di *despotes* (δεσπότης) secondo FURUMARK, GALLAVOTTI e altri.

67) *Triseros,* cfr. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *Riflessi di culti,* 1956, pg. 614; FURUMARK, *art. cit.;* HEMBERG, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 178 e sgg.; GALLAVOTTI, *loc. cit.,* pg. 41. Per alcuni studiosi in *Ai?ketesi*: ἀλκτῆρσι sarebbero da ravvisarsi i Dioscuri: cfr. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *loc. cit.,* GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti,* 43-5 (cfr. peraltro le obbiezioni di GEORGIEV, *Et. Myc.,* pg. 66).

68) *Therasia* Θειράσιας: WEBSTER, *Classica et medievalia,* 1956, pg. 35; cfr. etrusco *Therasiâs* (*V.C. Documents,* 200, pg. 303, pensano a una figura più o meno leggendaria di augure), *Terateia* MERIGGI, *Glossario* s.v., FURUMARK, *loc. cit,.* pg. 34.

69) *Wedanewo* GALLAVOTTI, *loc. cit.,* 1956, pg. 356 (per *manasa* non mi sembra accettabile l'interpretazione di GALLAVOTTI, 1956, pg. 350).

70) *Peleiai*: (*peleiai*): PALMER, *art. cit.*; PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, pg. 605; *peleku* (πέλεκυς) FURUMARK, 1954, pg. 53; MERIGGI, *Athenaeum,* 1955, pg. 77; *plewja*: GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti e struttura,* pg. 40; *presby(s)* GEORGIEV, *Et. Myc.,* pg. 59 (cfr. FURUMARK, *loc. cit.*)

71) G. RODENWALDT, *Ath. Mitt.,* 1912, tav. VIII (cfr. NILSSON, *Minoan-mycenaean Religion,* 2ed., 1950, pg. 344; L. A. STELLA, *Il poema di Ulisse,* pg. 235).

mano la lira, su un fantastico sfondo soprannaturale popolato di grifoni e di leoni. [72])

Infatti nella multiforme e ricca tradizione cultuale di Apollo, già citaredo nel mito pre-omerico e preesiodeo, il magico potere della sua lira d'oro che incanta i mostri e le fiere, immortalato in versi famosi di Pindaro e di Euripide, é mito vivo ancora nel IV secolo; e appartengono al divino corteggio di Apollo i leoni, che a Delo sulla Via sacra sono muta solenne scorta del dio, e i grifoni, che egli talora cavalca al ritorno dal fantastico paese degli Iperborei.

E può essere già Mene, la dea luna, la deità femminile in groppa a tori e cavalli su figurazioni cretesi. [73])

Sembra invece più difficile decidere se in uno squisito rilievo d'avorio di Micene [74]), le due dee ammantate proteggenti sotto un unico velo o scialle un dio infante siano Demetra e Core con Pluto fanciullo, o le divine nutrici di Dioniso; o non piuttosto l'artista abbia inteso rappresentar la divina nascita di Zeus, e le due dee sian la nutrice Gaia *Kourotrophos* e la divina madre di Zeus (forse la *Theia mate(re)* di una recente tavoletta PILO 1202 (1955).

E sarebbe anche più arduo stabilire se la famosa „dea dei Serpenti" sia per i Micenei una dea ctonia come la greca Persefone, o se sia ancora Atena, come suppone il Nillson [75]).

Nè pare ancora possibile dire se i Micenei si rappresentassero la loro dea Artemis senz'ali fra leoni rampanti come la Dea dei leoni di famose figurazioni „minoiche" di Creta, o la figurassero alata, come in arcaicissime terrecotte scoperte negli ultimi scavi italiani di Creta [76]).

72) Cfr. C. W. BLEGEN, *A.J.A.*, 1956, pg. 95 tav. 40. Per i grifoni nell'arte micenea cfr. A. EVANS, *The palace of Minos* I, 549, II; v. anche NILSSON, *op cit.*, pg. 76, 368. Nuove rappresentazioni in avori di Micene e su sigillo in una tomba di Pilo (PILO Ta 708+ *phoinikipi* (VENTRIS)). Oltre ai vasi greci con Apollo sul grifone (*B.C.H.*, 1946, pg. 379) particolarmente interessante per la probabile identificazione da me indicata il rilievo scoperto da Doro LEVI a Gortina con un dio fra grifoni (DORO LEVI, *Boll. d'arte*, 1956, fig. 57); per i leoni nel culto d'Apollo cfr. *Museum Helveticum* 1950, pg. 185 e sgg.

73) v. D. LEVI, *Studies presented to D. Moore Robinson*, 1951, pg. 108 e sgg. (cfr. per Selene-Mene sul cavallo o sul toro nella iconografia greca, STELLA., *Mitologia greca*, 1956, pg. 324 e sgg.).

74) A. J. B. WACE, *J.H.S.*, 1939, 59, pg. 210, tav. XIV; *Mycenae*, pg. 63 e sgg.; CH. PICARD, *Religions préhelléniques*, pg. 244, n. 55.

75) NILSSON, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pg. 324 e sgg., 496; *Geschichte Griech. Religion*, 2 ed. 1955, pg. 288 e sgg., 348 e sgg.

76) D. LEVI, *Ann. Scuola Ital. Atene*, 1956, pg. 49 e sgg., fig. 63; *Boll. d'arte*, 1956, pg. 268, fig. 55.

E d'altronde se nel „Calendario" di Pilo vi è forse una triade femminile, non vi ricorre nessun nome delle famose triadi divine elleniche di Vergini dee sorelle, le Cariti e le Ore. Sicchè restan più che mai difficili da identificare, al limite fra due età, le tre dee di cui il Levi testè ha scoperto in Creta le immagini arcaiche. [77]).

I testi d'altrondi parlano di dei (*theoi*); non mai, per ora, di *daimones*. Sicchè continuiamo a non sapere se abbian valore religioso o sian travestimenti del culto soltanto le strane figure ibride di demoni di cui è così ricca l'arte micenea: sfingi centauri sirene, mostruosi esseri commisti di membra umane e ferine, talora con maschere demoniache. Nei testi l'unica eco è per ora un dubbio accenno al monte esiodeo della Sfinge, il *Phykeion* (φύκιον ?PILO An 643,3+; cfr. Va 20,3: *piqude*) (Georgiev), e forse un accenno ai Sileni (*Sirao*: Σιληνός ? CNOSSO V 466). [78])

Sicchè alla fine la ricca documentazione figurata micenea, con le sue divine epifanie, le sue „sacre conversazioni", le sue tauromachie e processioni solenni e danze rituali, resta ancora per noi, in attesa di nuovi documenti, quasi del tutto un „album figurato senza didascalie", come fu felicemente definita molti anni or sono.

Tuttavia, gli elementi nuovi emersi dopo il deciframento dei testi già sono tali da sconvolgere molte radicate opinioni, rovesciare molti schemi, modificare in profondità la storia, e non solo delle religioni egee, del II millennio; da porre su basi nuove la stessa preistoria della religione greca.

Veduta in più ampia prospettiva, la religione dei testi micenei si inquadra senza sforzo entro la *koiné* culturale-economica del mondo orientale-mediterraneo alla metà del II millennio a. C. Religione di genti parlanti già greco, o almeno protogreco, e quindi linguisticamente legate ad un più o meno remoto ceppo indoeuropeo, presenta sotto questo aspetto notevoli affinità e punti in comune con le grandi religioni politeistiche non solo degli Ittiti, ma dei Semiti del Vicino Oriente, Canaanei di Ugarit e Accadici, Babilonesi e Assiri.

La presenza in Creta di una religione politeistica, e non certo a fondo matriarcale, e in molti aspetti e culti singoli già greca, viene a limitare necessariamente, nello spazio e nel tempo, la influenza e la portata

77) D. Levi, *Boll. d'arte*, 1956, pg. 272.

78) Cfr. Georgiev, *loc. cit.*, pg. 60. Per la Sfinge nell'arte micenea cfr. N. M. Verdelis, *BCH.*, 1951, pg. 1 e sgg.

di quella religione „egea" della Gran Madre su cui si accentravano da decenni le ricerche degli storici della religione „mediterranea" preellenica del II millennio a. C.

Che lingua parlassero e che numi adorassero i cosidetti Minoici, creatori della luminosa civiltà preistorica di Creta, non sapremo finchè non sarà decifrata anche la scrittura detta lineare A degli archivi di Cnosso. Ma fin d'ora sappiamo che a Amniso a Cidonia a Cnosso a Dicte a Litto a Festo come a Pilo a Micene intorno al 1500-1300 a. C. si veneravano Zeus Ditteo, Ares Enyalios, Posidone Enosidas, Eilythia signora di Amniso; e già allora Potnia era a Creta un titolo venerato di Atena, verosimilmente di altre dee, non il nome della sola Dea Madre.

Tutto questo non annulla il problema di quegli elementi anellenici o extraellenici che sono stati acutamente individuati nella religione greca; ma indubitabilmente sposta i termini della discussione. Poichè un eventuale sincretismo, ancora da indagare in questo nuovo angolo visuale, dovrebbe essere stato più antico dei nuovi testi.

Quanto alla storia della religione greca, le conseguenze e le ripercussioni sono, come è facile intendere, di portata vastissima: oggi il primo capitolo comincia con l'età micenea. I documenti di Cnosso e di Pilo segnano con certezza una data che è ben lungi dall'essere un limite chiuso. Quando gli ignoti scribi degli archivi reali di Creta e Messenia, i contabili dei mercanti di Micene incidevan quei nomi augusti sulle loro umili argille, culti riti e miti esistevano già in Egeo da un tempo non sappiamo quanto lungo; certo non nascevano allora.

La tesi del Nilsson sulle „origini minoico-micenee" della religione greca [79]), (una tesi a cui in verità fra gli storici e i grecisti non eravamo in molti a consentire), oggi appare dunque confermata nel modo più luminoso. Confermata, ma ad un tempo superata. Perchè, oltre a nomi divini come Atena Zeus e Posidone la cui „miceneità" pareva già così plausibile [80]), ci vengono incontro dai documenti micenei altri inaspettati nomi.

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79) La pisizione del NILSSON è espressa in tutta la sua vasta opera, e particolarmente ribadita e sviluppata in *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 2, 1950 e in *Geschichte der Griech. Religion*, 2 ed., 1955, pg. 303 e sgg. Su posizioni analoghe, ma non identiche, con più forte accentuazione dell'elemento "minoico" sono il PICARD e il PERSSON.

80) Cfr. L. A. STELLA, *Il poema di Ulisse*, 1955, pg. 177 e sgg., e la bibliografia relativa.

Gli scarni testi delle tavolette troncano per sempre, in senso imprevisto, la lunga contesa sulle origini „licie" o „asiatiche", ma comunque postmicenee di Apollo; impostano su dati nuovi l'altra viva polemica sulle origini tracie o orientali di un altro dio creduto di ingresso recente, Dioniso. E invece nessum segno ci giunge da quei testi non solo sulla *Potnia* dea Madre di Creta, ma neppure sulle divinità che i Greci consideravano più antiche: gli „antichi Dei" come i Titani e i Giganti. Erinys forse è il nome di Demetra, *Urano* (οὐρανός) (CNOSSO C 1592) non è necessariamente un nome di divinità.

Il contributo di dati nuovi portato dalle tavolette micenee alla storia della religione greca non si limita alla importantissima serie dei nomi di divinità; si allarga oltre quei nomi, alla sfera del culto. Pur con le difficoltà che purtroppo non di rado si frappongono ad una interpretazione compiuta e non incerta di ogni singolo testo, già si possono raccogliere dai dati più sicuri notizie di notevole interesse. Anzitutto il ripetuto ricorrere della parola *ierós* e dei suoi derivati [81]) *ijero* (ἱερός: CNOSSO Fp 363, X 1447) ci consente oggi di affermare, contro i dubbi affacciati da storici e da linguisti, che risale all'età micenea la concezione religiosa ellenica di *hierós,* che impropriamente si traduce „sacro" [82]). E non soltanto con tutta l'intensità di carica religiosa che la parola conserva nei secoli, ma anche con la vastità della sua accezione, che si allarga dalla sfera più propriamente religiosa a tutto quello che ha rapporto colla divinità (basterà notare per questo lo *ijeroio kurusoio* di una tavoletta di Pilo che anticipa alla metà del II millennio il linguaggio rituale ancor vivo a Olimpia nel II secolo per il sacro oro di Zeus: (PILO Ae 303) (ἱεροῖο χρυσοῖο) [83]).

Non possiamo ancora dire se *ijero* (ἱερὸν: CNOSSO Fp 363, X 1447) e *ijerewijo* (ἱερεῖον: CNOSSO K 875), che leggiamo in testi oscuri o senza contesto, significhino sacrificio o luogo sacro.

Ma senza dubbio si lega alla concezione sacrale di *hierón* nel senso

81) Cfr. MERIGGI, *Glossario Miceneo,* s.v.; E. RISCH, *Études Mycéniennes,* pg. 170.

82) Cfr. per le discussioni sul termine greco di ἱερός WILAMOWITZ, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I, 1926, pg. 21; R. K. YERKES, *Le sacrifice,* 1956, pg. 78 e 288; A. PAGLIARO, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni,* 1947-8, pg. 32 e sgg.; NILSSON, *Gesch. der Griech. Relig.,* pg. 70.

83) MÜHLESTEIN, *Et. Myc.,* pg. 94 e sgg.; *V.C. Documents,* 27, pg. 166; cfr. τὸ χρύσεον τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διός (principio del IV secolo) *Olympia* V, 31, 2.

ellenico di sacrificio il nome del sacerdote, o sacerdotessa, che presiede al sacrificio, il nome di *ijereu* (ἱερεύς) *ijereja* (ἱέρεια) PILO An 218,2, PILO Eo 247,7, Ep 539,13, cfr. Ea 756 (gen.); CNOSSO Fp 1. Fh 5467; PILO Ae 303, Eb 297, 1+, Eo 224,6,8, Un 1189.[84]) Tale nome designa già a Cnosso e a Pilo dalla metà del II millennio il sacerdote, o sacerdotessa, che presiede al sacrificio; il più diretto ministro del culto greco fino alla tarda antichità.

Precede certo e accompagna l'offerta sacrificale, che è il momento fondamentale del culto miceneo, una formula di preghiera, il cui atto già si esprime con il verbo greco di εὔχεσθαι (cfr. *eukomeno* (nome?) PILO Jn 725; *eukome-* CNOSSO X 7748; anche *euketo,* PILO Eb 297, 1, cfr. Ep 704,5, se pur di significato più ampio, si lega, dato il soggetto (*ijereia*), alla terminologia cultuale[85]).) Credo inoltre di poter dedurre dalla onomastica micenea, donde ci vengono tante preziose indicazioni, che nell'invocare il favore dei numi perchè arridan propizi alle umane preghiere già i Micenei adoperavan le fauste parole rimaste poi nel formulario rituale fino al tramonto della religione ellenica (cfr. i nomi composti con *eu-, eumene* PILO Ea 822, Jn 725, 15 (εὐμενής); *euwakoro* PILO Jn 431,2 (εὐήγορος). E forse per influsso della mantica ornitologica così diffusa nel II millennio in tutto il Mediterraneo e l'Oriente, già si consideravan propizi gli auspici da destra, infausti i contrari (cfr. *dekisiwo,* CNOSSO C 908 (V 1524), δεξιός, cfr. PILO Cn 254,4).

Anche la parola che in greco serve a designare, secondo una tradizione rimasta immutata, lo stato di purezza rituale, καθαρός, è d'altronde micenea: la si trova in testi di Micene, in senso letterale non traslato, a indicare il più puro olio di oliva (*Elaiwon Kataron* (Mühlestein) Micene Z 202).

Si affiancano al sacerdote miceneo nel culto e in particolare nell'atto fondamentale del sacrificio ministri di secondo rango e famuli quali esecutori e coadiutori.

Anzitutto vi è lo *thywestas* che presiede a quello che nei maggiori

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84) La interpretazione del VENTRIS, accolta da FURUMARK, PALMER, PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, BENNETT, GALLAVOTTI: *ijereu(s), ijereja,* non ha sollevato alcuna obbiezione; v. anche HAMPE, art. cit. pg. 52.

85) Cfr. in particolare per Ep 704, BENNETT, *A.J.A.*, 1956, pg. 118 e sgg.; FURUMARK, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 38; GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti,* pg. 37; W. E. BROWN, *Historia* V, 4, 1956 pg. 396 e sgg.. Da notare nello stesso senso in Aristofane, *Thesmophor.*, 295 e sgg.: (cfr. MERRITT, *Hesperia,* 1942, 183, l. 5, *I.G.* II, 293).

riti di offerta è il preludio o il primo momento del sacrificio, ma può esser anche la sola offerta sacrificale, in cui si estrinseca il dono e l'omaggio agli dei nella sua espressione più modesta. Si tratta di offerta di incenso e di essenze aromatiche, bruciate sopra un incensiere donde il fumo sale agli dei. Il termine miceneo per il ministro del culto adibito alla custodia e offerta di essenze odorose, richiama lo θύτης di molte iscrizioni greche cultuali, termine divenuto col tempo una semplice carica onorifica [86]). Ma certamente nel greco miceneo è ancora una funzione attiva, in rapporto con il rito degli incensi o aromi bruciati agli altari, (o ai simulacri), degli dei (*odoke ... tuweta arepazoo tuwea arepate zesomeno*: diede il sacerdote *thyestās* al famulo addetto agli unguenti essenze aromatiche da bruciar con unguenti (PILO Un 267 [87]).

Anzi la presenza di questo *thyestas* in sacre cerimonie di Pilo induce a pensare che agli altari degli dei fossero appunto destinate non di rado le essenze di cui l'elenco ricorre su altri testi di Pilo e di Micene [88]).

Si tratta di un costume rituale antichissimo e largamente diffuso fin dai primordi del II millennio fra Sumeri Babilonesi Egiziani, [89]) e

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86) Olympia: καθημεροθύτης (*Inschr.* V, 137 e sgg.), Magnesia: λειτουργῶν θύτης (DITTENBERGER, *Syll.* 589, 15), Tegea: θύτης(Pausan. VIII, 42); cfr. θυοσκόος: (Homer. *Iliad.* XXIV, 221; *Od.* XXI, 145); per la radice **thy-* cfr. YERKES, *Le sacrifice*, 1956, pg. 123; cfr. 141.

87) Cfr. FURUMARK, 1954, pg. 40; MERIGGI, *Glotta,* 1954; PALMER, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 21; PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *Riflessi di Culti*, pg. 610; GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti e struttura,* pg. 74; MÜHLESTEIN, *Mus. Helv.,* 1954, pg. 122; CHADWICK, *Transl. Phil. Soc.,* 1954, pg. 1 e sgg.

88) Cfr. MICENE Ge 602-8; *V.C. Documents*, 104 e sgg. In PILO Un 267 alle essenze bruciate (coriandro, cipero) segue (r. 5-6) un elenco di altre offerte votive consuete: frutta, miele, lana (cfr. *V.C. Documents* 103), naturalmente non bruciate. E' possibile, ma ancora problematico, che *Arxota* all'inizio sia dativo divino.

89) Per l'importanza delle offerte di essenze e unguenti bruciati su incensieri presso l'ara in riti del Vicino Oriente contemporanei e più antichi, v. come esempi di rituale accadico *A.N.E.T.* 333 (per la festa del Nuovo Anno a Babilonia), 335 (per il tamburo del tempio), 338 (per un tempio di Uruk), 343 (sacrificio quotidiano a Uruk), 348 (rito purificatorio ittita). Oltre agli aromi bruciati (fra cui il legno di cipresso), si offrivano varie qualità di farina, anche in focacce (anche orzo come a Cnosso e Pilo), acqua, birra di orzo fermentato, vino e frutta (specie fichi) e talvolta lana. Oltre i testi citati, cfr. per i testi sumerici G. A. BARTON, *The royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad,* 1929 (ad es. 199 (offerta di Gudea), cfr. 153, 1 163, 6; 23, 5).

rimasto vivo in Grecia fino alla tarda antichità. Ancora al tempo di Pausania, su tutti gli altari di Olimpia ogni mese fumavano incensi per il sacrificio agli dei. [90])

Ma poichè il più importante sacrificio greco è già dall'età micenea sempre sacrificio cruento, troviamo a Pilo lo *ierourgos,* cui spetta di immolare la vittima sacra di propria mano: *ierowoko,* come viene chiamato col titolo cultuale rimasto nella terminologia dei grandi santuari fino in età [91]) romana (PILO Ep 617,7). E per quanto varie siano le vittime immolate, non solo tori e buoi e giovenche, ma arieti e agnelli, e capre, suini e forse anche cervi, vi è fra i ministri del culto, nei sacrifici solenni, il *Bouphontes* (*qouqota,* CNOSSO X 480, cfr. *qouqotao,* PILO Ea 270, 305, 802 (Meriggi)) [92]), che ci richiama alla singolare figura del βουφόνος, il sacerdote attico cui spettava nelle Diipolie compiere il famoso rito delle *Bouphonia,* in onore di Zeus *polieus,* uno dei più arcaici e singolari riti ellenici. [93])

E forse faceva parte del rito preparatorio anche il *Krysoergos, kurusowoko,* (PILO An 207,10 (13)), chiamato a indorar le corna della vittima consacrata, come il χρυσοχόος dell'Odissea chiamato da Nestore al palazzo di Pilo per i preparativi del grande sacrificio apprestato ad Atena dopo la sua epifania (Odissea III, 425).

E ancora alla fase preparatoria del sacrificio, può darsi che prenda parte anche il *Boukolos* (*qoukoro*) (CNOSSO X 5610; PILO An 18+ Nn 831,5), che forse è lo stesso personaggio chiamato ἐπιβούκολος in quella medesima cerimonia pilia dell'Odissea: un termine passato poi a designare una carica sacerdotale in Asia minore, a Mileto e Pergamo, nella tarda antichità [94]).

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90) Pausan. V, 13, 10,

91) DITTENBERGER, *Syll.,* 1046 (Amorgo), 586, 90 (Rodi), Callimach. fr. 450; cfr. DEUBNER, *Attische Feste,* 1956, pg. 141, YERKES, *op. cit.,* pg. 161.

92) Lettura di FURUMARK e PALMER (*qoo* = βοῦς in PILO Cn 3, 2: v. RISCH presso MÜHLESTEIN, *Olympia in Pylos,* 1955); v. MERIGGI, *Glossario* s.v. La possibilità di sacrifici cervi è segnalata da M. DORIA, *Le tavolette Cn*) (in corso di stampa).

93) Cfr. Porphyr. *de abst.,* 2, 29, 158, 3; Pausan. I, 24, 4; 28, 11. Per la interpretazione del *Bouphonos* nelle Diasie attiche cfr. COOK, *Zeus* I, 576 e sgg.; DEUBNER, *Attische Feste,* pg. 158; YERKES, *op. cit.,* 95 e sgg., 158 e sgg.

94) ἐπιβούκολος *Od.* III, 222. Per βουκόλοι in iscrizioni tarde cfr. DEUBNER, *op. cit.,* 100, 150; F. CUMONT., *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain,* 1929, pg. 308, 311; v. peraltro il βουκολεῖον in Atene e Aristot., *Athen. Polit.* III, 5.

Alla parte centrale del sacrificio cruento ci richiama invece il *pyrkaos*, (*pukawo*), πυρίκαος, a cui spetta la cura del fuoco sacro [95]): chiamato già a Pilo con il nome rimasto nel culto di Delfi poi molti secoli, e passato a titolo puramente onorifico [96]).

Non sembra tuttavia che i grandi sacrifici cruenti siano stati i più frequenti nel culto miceneo: forse vengono celebrati soltanto nelle festività solenni in onore delle divinità maggiori, come a Pilo la grande offerta in onore di Posidone a cui prendon parte con i notabili il demos e particolari categorie di fedeli (cfr. PILO Un 718:... orzo ... vino ... un toro, quattro arieti, vino ... orzo ... formaggi ... pelli di pecore, miele ...). Ma il più corrente rito d'offera sacrificale agli dei (*dosomo*, nella terminologia micenea) [97]) a Pilo, e particolarmente a Cnosso, pare fosse quel sacrificio senza sangue di vittime che i Greci credevano la più antica forma di culto, e che resta dominante sempre nel culto privato e nel rituale di singoli dei: offerta d'orzo e di farina, di formaggi e forse di focacce, di miele e d'olio, νηφάλια nel culto greco [98]). A questo rituale di sacrificio (dove lo storico delle religioni riscontrerà con sorpresa da un lato le evidenti analogie con i culti del Vicino Oriente, dall'altro la identità con culti assai più recenti attestati in iscrizioni di età storica, arcaica, classica, ellenistica), con formulario solitamente espresso in ideogrammi, si collegano le menzioni di *turo* (τυρός) (PILO Un 718,4), di *mereuro* (μήρευρον: Un 718,10, farina), di *meli* (ibidem) (μέλι: *merito* cfr. *meri* CNOSSO Gg 702, 705 etc.), di *elawo* (ἔλαιον: PILO Gn 1184.) Nelle libagioni che accompagnano i sacrifici micenei, accanto all'acqua e forse al latte, offerta abituale di tuti i sacrifici antichi, il vino, pur noto a Creta da secoli [99]), non è ancora giunto a sostituire se non raramente la bevanda fermentata d'orzo che il culto miceneo ha in comune con gli Egizi i Sumeri

95) Cfr. per Delfi Hesych. s.v., *Orac.* apud Plut., 2, 406e. MÜHLESTEIN interpreta in senso analogo come *pyrkoros* il *pukoro* di PILO Jn, 478, 2; Fn 837, 8, in analogia con i termini sacrali greci di *zakoros, neokoros.*

96) Cfr. *V.C. Documents,* Vocabulary s.v. (139, 135).

97) Cfr. la serie Es 644+; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 275 e sgg. (diversa la interpretazione di GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti,* 56).

98) Per il sacrificio nel culto greco cfr. NILSSON, *Gesch. der Griech. Relig.,* 2, pg. 121 e sgg. Come esempio di sacrificio senza vittime si può citare *I G,* II, 2, 1184.

99) Per il sacrificio babilonese-assiro v., oltre i testi sopra citati, FURLANI, *Religione babilonese-assira,* pg. 252, 299, 305; *La religione degli Hittiti,* pg. 109; BARTON, *op. cit.,* pg. 134 (Gudea).

i Babilonesi e i Canaanei, e permane in singoli culti della Grecia classica (*atara* MYC. Ue 611 rev.; Wt 501: ἀθάρα [100]). E come in tutte le grandi religioni orientali e mediterranee del II millennio, anche nel rituale miceneo l'offerta d'orzo e di frumento, in chicchi o farina o focacce, ha un posto rilevante, forse per memoria di antichi riti agrari, come poi nel culto greco arcaico (ne resta testimonianza il gesto con cui sempre il celebrante prima del sacrificio sparge i granelli d'orzo attingendo al sacro canestro). Forse alla raccolta o alla scelta e mondatura dell'orzo sacro è da ricollegarsi il misterioso nome di *kiriteiai* che nei documenti micenei indica, come ha veduto bene il Chadwick, una mansione religiosa: [101]) termine rituale di cui sitrova un corrispondente maschile nei κριθολόγοι del culto ellenico.

Più singolare, di fronte al culto greco, è il ricorrere abbastanza frequente di offerte rituali di solo miele, in anfore e altri vasi, a divinità maggiori e minori. A Creta, in particolare, questa offerta suggestivamente ci richiama al mito di Zeus Kretagenés, nutrito nella caverna di Ditte da un'ape o dalla ninfa Melissa o dalle Melie [102]); o l'altro mito, tanto spesso citato e pur così oscuro, di *Brytamartis*, secondo la interpretazione di Esichio la Signora del miele [103]), adorata in Creta e poi identificata con Artemis.

Per il continente greco, si può anche ricordare il mito, sicuramente molto antico, delle *Thriai* del Parnaso, che ci viene dall'inno arcadico a Hermes, e quindi da uno degli ambienti più chiusi, e religiosamente più conservatori, di Grecia: il mito delle tre Vergini alate che cibandosi di miele, cosparse di bianca farina, prima di Apollo predicevano le sorti [104]).

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100) Cfr. Phot. s.v. πυανοψία (Harpocrat.) (DEUBNER, *op. cit.*, 199, 2, 225). Per gli ideogrammi di birra e vino cfr. *V.C. Documents*, pg, 130-1; i resti di mosto trovati ultimamente dal LEVI nel fondo di un pythos a Festo (*Boll. d'arte*, luglio-sett., 1956, pg. 245, fig, 32) attestano l'uso del vino in Creta nel M M II.

101) CNOSSO Fp 363 (E 777), PILO Eb 321, Ep 704; cfr. *V.C. Documents*, pg. 167, cfr. BROWN, *Historia, art. cit.*; WEBSTER, 1954, pg. 11-12.

102) Cfr. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, *Riflessi di culti*, 605, 613. *V. C. Documents*, 52, 128, 308-10; FURUMARK, *Eranos* 1954 pg. 31; per il miele nel culto dell'antichità cfr. H. M. RANSOME, *The sacred bee in ancient time and Folklore*, Londra, 1937; in particolare nel culto di Zeus: COOK, *Zeus* II, 932, III, 1152 (cfr. anche Zeus Meilichios, ibidem, pg. 1090), pg. 1138; M. MARCONI; PW XV, 1, 1931, s.v., 379.

103) Cfr. Hesych., s.v. *Britomartis*.

104) Cfr. *h. h. ad Herm.*, 452-565 (FEYEL legge σμῆναι); Callimach., *ad Apoll.*, 250; Steph. Byz., s.v.; Philocor., *F.H.G.*, 416, 196; Pausan. X, 5, 6; v. WILAMOWITZ, *op. cit.*, pg. 374.

E poichè fino all'età romana ancora si chiamavano *Melissai* e *Essenes* i membri di collegi sacerdotali nel santuario di Artemis a Efeso e in altri luoghi di Asia minore e di Grecia, si potrebbe proporre d'intendere in un senso non molto dissimile come termine cultuale quel nome finora oscuro di *meridamates* che ricorre nei testi micenei (*meridamate*: PILO An 39 +) [105]).

Tutte le offerte dei fedeli elencate nelle tavolette micenee, offerte dei principi, dei privati, del demos, dei singoli gruppi, abitanti delle borgate, associazioni particolari o mestieri, trovavan la loro consacrazione nel sacrifizio, che lo *iereus,* solo o accompagnato da un seguito di famuli e ministri, celebrava sull'altare della divinità.

Di altari non parla tuttavia per ora nessun testo miceneo.

Sicchè siamo naturalmente portati a supporre che a Cnosso a Pilo e a Micene il sacrifizio si celebrasse solitamente come a Babilonia su tavole d'offerte mobili più spesso che su altari fissi. In tal caso, ci si può chiedere se abbia qualche significato cultuale l'elenco di tavole: *topezai* (τράπεζαι), riccamente e variamente decorate con simboli del mondo mitico e religioso (grifoni, leoni, melograni etc....) e talora intarsiate dei materiali più nobili, talora di pietra (cfr. tutta la serie Ta di PILO; *topeza raeja* Ta 642, 1-3; 713) [106]).

L'ipotesi parrebbe trovar conferma nei dati archeologici. Mentre mancano sicuri esempi di grandi altari all'aperto „micenei" sul genere di quelli arcaici di Gortina o di Chio, nelle civiltà egee dell'età del bronzo, e in particolare a Creta, non mancano esemplari, e rappresentazioni, di tavole di offerta; decoratissime alcune, altre di pietra incisa da iscrizioni come quella, certo antichissima, della grotta di Zeus Ditteo [107]).

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105) PILO An 18, 6, 29, 9; (MERIGGI. *Minos* III, 83); cfr. per le Melissai greche: Phot. s.v. *Hierophantides*; Pind., *Pyth.*, 4, 60; Schol. Pyth., *loc. cit.*; cfr. per gli *Essenes* a Efeso *Forschungen zum Ephesos* IV, 3, 1951, pg. 30.

106) Cfr. per la serie Ta di PILO PALMER, *Lond. Class. Bull.*, 1955, pg. 41; VENTRIS, *Eranos,* 1955, pg. 116 e sgg.; M. DORIA, *Interpretazione di testi micenei,* 1956. Fanno parte senza dubbio del culto originario miceneo a Delfi la *fiale* e il *tripode* (*piara* Ta 709; *tiripoda,* 708; cfr. C. W. BLEGEN, *Eph. Arch.,* 1953, pg. 59; VENTRIS, *Archaeology,* 1954, pg. 118; *Eranos,* 1955, pg. 115; MERIGGI, *Athenaeum,* 1955, pg. 91), elemento fondamentale del culto delfico fino a tarda età (v. la documentazione in P. AMANDRY, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes,* 1950. XLVII, LXXXIII, XCV, DCLXXXVIII, e pg. 139 e sgg.).

107) F. HALBHERR, P. ORSI, *Scoperte nell'antro di Psychro, Museo di antichità classica,* 1883, pg. 916 e sgg; A. EVANS, *The Palace of Minos,* pg. 497, 549; *J.H.S.* XVII, 350; COOK, *Zeus* II, pg. 925 (cfr. anche la recente scoperta di

Nel culto greco d'età storica d'altronde simili offerte non sono inconsuete. Ancora nel I secolo d. C. un donario di Smirne ad Apollo da parte del padre dello *iereus* in carica (certo Apollonio) enumera con altri doni votivi una *trapeza* „di pietra di Lesbo" coi piedi in forma di „grifone", e un'altra *trapeza* "intarsiata a vari colori, quadrata" (cfr. DITTENBERGER III 996 10, 16): τράπεζα λίθου Λεσβίου ἔχουσα πόδας ἀναγλύπτους γρύπας... καὶ τράπεζα ποικίλη τετράγωνος).

Dove siano gli altari, o le tavole, su cui celebra il sacerdote, non lo dice per ora testo alcuno. Si può anche supporre che i sacrifici e tutte le cerimonie religiose, quelle periodiche consuete e quelle delle grandi solennità, avvenissero in qualche sacello nel palazzo stesso o entro l'ambito delle sue mura: piccoli sacrari di corte, o almeno attinenti alla reggia, del genere di quelli individuati dagli archeologi a Micene [108]).

Tuttavia, almeno una volta nelle tavolette di Pilo non si parla di riti attinenti al sacrificio, ma di altre cerimonie del culto miceneo. Si tratta della famosa, e tanto discussa, tavoletta pilia contenente il cosidetto „Calendario rituale" di offerte: testo difficile, che i confronti pure utilissimi con calendari babilonesi e sumerici e qualche tardo „calendario" greco aiutano solo in parte a chiarire ed interpretare.

Vi sono enumerati i donarii (*dora*: r. 1, 5, 8) offerti dalla città (*watu... pere*: ἄστυ φέρε) a sacri luoghi indicati con un neutro singolare, derivato dal nome del dio solennemente celebrato: (*Posidaijo* (11) *diwjo* (15) [109]). Un termine di questo genere nel culto greco, dall' età d'Omero a quella di S. Paolo, ha sempre indicato un luogo sacro, non una statua (Posideion, Heraion, Artemision etc.). All'indicazione dei doni da portare ai singoli dei secondo un rito religioso forse periodico e tradizionale (*pere porena*) [110]) segue ogni volta la

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una tavola di libagione con *octopus* a rilievo in una tomba di Pilo, e di un sigillo con effigie di sacerdotessa davanti a una tavola con corna di consacrazione negli stessi scavi: MARINATOS, *Archaeology,* 1957, pg. 98, tav. VII (Mic. IIa-IIIa). Da notare un recente articolo di PALMER (*Minos,* 1957, pg. 99 e sgg.) che interpreta la serie Ta come inventario di tomba reale.

108) Cfr. per Haghia Triada L. BANTI, *Ann. Scuola Ital. di Atene,* 1942, pg. 10 e sgg.; per Micene WACE, *Mycenae,* 1939, pg. 68, 82; e per i nuovi scavi di WACE, fuori e dentro la cittadella, *J.H.S.,* 1951, 239; 1953, 171; 1955 (Suppl.) 24; 29; *B.C.H.,* 1955, pg. 232, 1956, pg. 259.

109) Cfr. PALMER, *Eranos,* 1955, pg. 5; WEBSTER, *Lond. Class. Studies* (che richiama Homer., *Od.,* 6, 266); *V.C. Documents,* 172; MERIGGI, *Glotta,* 1954, pg. 19 e sgg. (per GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti,* pg. 42, sarebbero invece dativi allativi).

110) Cfr. FURUMARK, *loc. cit.*

indicazione in ideogrammi di anfore e altri oggetti in metallo prezioso, con l'ideogramma che indica, ogni volta col numero, uomini e donne. Fra la ridda di supposizioni, scartata come assai problematica e difficilmente accettabile la indicazione di sacrifici umani, in così grande numero e per così numerose divinità, la più verosimile ipotesi resta quella suggestiva di Ventris [111]) che si tratti di grandi processioni solenni, come in affreschi famosi di Cnosso, di Tirinto, di Tebe, di Micene, dove coppe e vasi preziosi d'oro d'argento di avorio sono portati con grazia da principesse o ministre del culto, vestite in ricche vesti, e con solennità grave da coppieri (accanto al *depas* omerico anche vasi a testa taurina, come i *rhyta* micenei, sono menzionati in una serie di testi pilii) [112]).

Il „calendario" in tal caso sarebbe servito ad annotare, o a prescrivere, determinate solennità religiose: festività in onore dei singoli dei, come ne hanno conosciuti tutti i grandi culti antichi.

Fa parte del linguaggio rituale corrente ellenico di età storica il verbo ἄγειν (*ake*) per indicare (r. 1, 5, 8; rev. 2) il comporsi e ordinarsi di un solenne corteo religioso, solitamente ordinato dal sacerdote. Processioni sacre di questo genere in occasioni di feste solenni a grandi santuari o a templi singoli, con offerte di doni anche preziosi alla divinità, sono attestate da documenti copiosi in tutto il Vicino Oriente. Dove ne conosciamo il rituale, é il re stesso, per le sue prerogative di capo religioso, come a Babilonia, a deporre nel tempio le preziose offerte, all'inizio di sante cerimonie propiziatorie [113]).

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111) Cfr. *V.C. Documents,* 172, pg. 284.

112) *qoukara*: PILO Ta 711, 2, 3 (cfr. Ta 714 (*qo*()*ukaroi*), *V.C. Documents,* pg. 335, 244; come esempi di *rhyta* micenei a testa bovina d'argento e oro cito KARO, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* CXIX-XXI; A. PERSSON, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea,* Lund, 1931, pg. 48; cfr. per Creta EVANS, *op. cit.,* 827; NILSSON, *op. cit.,* pg. 144 e sgg.; *B.C.H.,* 1956, p. 95. Il significato rituale dei *rhyta* è confermato dalla rappresentazione del sarcofago di H. Triada (PARIBENI, *Monumenti antichi,* 1908, tav. I). Con il carattere sacrale delle tavole della serie Ta si spiegherebbe assai bene anche l'aggettivo *Akarano* (Ta 715, 2) = tavola *senza corna di consacrazione* (o senza bucranii); tavole e altari sacrificali e sacelli "minoici" e "micenei" di Creta e di Argolide erano frequentemente adorni ai lati di teste bovine o corna di consacrazione di discusso significato (cfr. A. EVANS, *Palace of Minos* II, pg. 160 e sgg; NILSSON, *op. cit.,* 2, pg. 165 e sgg).

113) Per festività babilonesi v. *A.N.E.T.,* 333, 338, 345; FURLANI, *op. cit.,* pg. 223, 235; Riti babilonesi e assiri, pg. 117 e sgg.; per festività ittite v. *A.N.E.T.* 358 (festa per il Dio guerriero); *Syria,* 1940, 263-4 per il ruolo del Re come supremo

Ad analoga tradizione rituale si ispirano, in età storica le grandi πομπαί religiose delle feste greche: cortei sacri a cui tutta la città partecipa, con a capo non più il re ma i supremi magistrati, diretti a determinati templi entro o fuori il pomerio, e in occasioni particolarmente solenni ai grandi santuari panellenici.

A Pilo un corteo di questo genere per portare doni agli dei, condotto dal principe o da un suo rappresentante religioso, con la partecipazione della città (*watu*) o comunità, presuppone l'esistenza di santuari fuori dal palazzo, o addirittura fuori dalle mura. Di *pompe* non parla alcun testo miceneo; ma in due frammenti di Cnosso il termine di *teophoria* (*teoporija*: CNOSSO F 1058; cfr. OD 696; cfr. PILO An 39, 9: *teopo-*) ci rimanda alle *pompai* greche ove, secondo un rituale arcaicissimo, si portavano in processione con offerte stagionali e doni preziosi talora feticci o sacre pelli, talora anche vetusti *xoana* di legno fra musiche e canti religiosi [114]).

Data la mancanza, difficilmente casuale, di vestigia o testimonianze di grandiosi edifici destinati al culto entro i limiti cronologici e geografici della civiltà greca „micenea", non sappiamo ora con certezza cosa fossero questi luoghi di culto a cui in folla in giorni prescritti dei mesi prescritti dal rito accorrevano le turbe, i maggiorenti, il sovrano circondato dai *basileis*. In Creta senza dubbio eran qualche volta anche grotte: centri di culto da tempi remotissimi, frequentati

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capo sacerdotale, cfr. R. LABAT, *Caractère religieux de la royauté babylonienne,* (1939) pg. 83, 132, p. 148 e sgg, 171, 203.

14) Esempi di processioni con *xoana*: DITTENBERGER *Syll.* III, 695 (Artemis a Magnesia); Pausan. IX, 3 1 (Hera e Zeus a Platea); Athen. 526 (Hera a Samo); Schol. ad Callimach. *h.* V, 1; cfr. Suid., 4, 1373, 3; C I A 2, 469, 10 (Pallade a Atene nelle *Plynteria*); per la possibilità di simili riti purificatori a Pilo cfr. il termine di *rewotoroko* (λευτροχόος) PILO Ab 576+; (cfr. BJÖRK, *Eranos,* 1954, 270, *V.C. Documents,* 19, 10), forse religioso come in Callimaco (*ibidem* 1, 15). Potrebbero essere un residuo di formulario miceneo nel linguaggio rituale greco l'epiteto di Artemis χιτώνη (Callimach. *h.* 3, 225; cfr. CNOSSO X, 771, 2 *Kitone*) e il termine di ποδώνυχοι (Polluce, 10, 191) detto di vesti rituali (Cfr. *poikironuka, reukonuka,* detto di vesti in CNOSSO L 597+: v. FURUMARK, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 44; BJÖRCK, *ibidem,* 1954, pg. 271 e sgg; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 317). Per le offerte di pelli bovine (*Qowja* (βοεῖα) Tn 316,3) cfr. il Διὸς κῷδιον nelle processioni attiche delle Skira (Suida s.v.; *C.I.A.* III, 1, 13; COOK, *Zeus* I, 422; NILSSON, *Gesch. Griech. Relig.,* pg. 111 forse da *Kowjon*?). Di strumenti musicali oltre forse la *pektis* (*pakateja* CNOSSO L 656, cfr. E. T. VERMEULE *A.J.A.,* 1957, pg. 61; la *kithara* d'altronde è documentata dal sarcofago di H. Triada e dall'affresco di Pilo già citato) sono ricordati nei nostri testi anche i timpani (*tupani*), strumenti abituali nelle feste religiose del Vicino Oriente.

fin dai primordi del II millennio, e qualche volta sacri alla venerazione del devoto fino alla tarda antichità [115]).

Fra i più celebri di tanti esplorati dagli archeologi in tempi più o meno recenti, basterà ricordare la grotta di Psychro, che è forse la grotta di Zeus sul monte Ditteo, la grotta di Amniso, che senza dubbio è la grotta di *Eilythyia* dell'Odissea: di entrambi è rimasto adombrato il ricordo in tavolette di Cnosso [116]).

In altri casi, a Creta e fuori, dobbiamo pensare a santuari all'aperto, sacri recinti ove sorgevano sacelli o edicole sacre alla divinità del tipo di quelli, spesso tripartiti, raffigurati nell'arte micenea, ben noti agli archeologi (a questi sacelli si riferirebbero, credo, gli accusativi allativi in Tn 316 *Posidaion, Diwion* etc.; a Cnosso termini di *Heraion* e di *Daidaleon*; cfr. anche *potinijaweio(n)*? CNOSSO Dl 930, a; 946) [117]). Per questi santuari il nome generico sarà già stato quello greco di *iereion*, luogo sacro, o quello di *temenos*, recinto sacro. (Per ora il primo termine compare a Cnosso in un contesto difficile una volta sola (*ijerewijo*) CNOSSO K 875, e altre volte al neutro plurale per il santuario dei Venti (*ijereia*) Fp 1, 10; Fp 13, 3) [118]). E quanto al termine di *temenos* (*temeno*: PILO Er 312, 1, 3; 880, 2) non è facile stabilire se nei testi micenei abbia anche quel significato religioso, non esclusivo ma predominante nel greco di età arcaica e classica.

Non mancava tuttavia nella lingua micenea il termine corrente greco di ναός, già usato nel senso di tempio (o sacello) nell'Iliade. Mi sembra ne sia irrefutabile prova il nome di *naudomos* (*naudomo*: da *nawo* tempio?) che è certo il corrispettivo miceneo del classico νεωποίης (ναοποιός), derivando da *nawo* tempio, non da *nau(s)* nave: nella forma ναοδόμος si ritrova in una tarda epigrafe [119]).

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115) Cfr. HALBHERR-ORSI, *loc. cit.;* EVANS, *op. cit.* I, pg. 519; (diversa per la identificazione di MARINATOS, *Praktikà*, 1935, 212; *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, 252, 1935, 249). Per le grotte cretesi come luogo di culto „minoico" cfr. NILSSON, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pg. 49 e sgg., 395 e sgg.; *Gesch. Griech. Relig.*, pg. 263 e sgg.; P. FAURE., *B.C.H.*, 1956, pg. 97.

116) Cfr. S. MARINATOS, *Minos*, 1956, 1, 18; cfr. idem, *Praktikà*, dal 1929, pg. 94, al 1940, pg. 257; NILSSON, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pg. 395.

117) Va in particolare ricordato a confronto, oltre lo *Heraion* Argivo, il ποσιδήϊον dell'Odissea (VI, 266).

118) Cipriota *tanijerewiane* da *ἱερέϝια = santuario (*V.C. Documents*, pg. 439).

119) ναοδόμος: *Epigr.*, 409, 4; i composti -δομ. si riferiscono a costruzione di edifici (spesso sacri), mai di navi (cfr. ad es. οἰκοδομεῖν, DITTENBERGER III, 977, 3).

L'ipotesi che oltre a templi singoli esistessero veri centri di culto fuori dall'ambito dei palazzi e delle città micenee trova d'altronde conferma nel rovescio della tavoletta pilia del „Calendario". Qui tutte le prescrizioni delle festività (relative al mese di *porowitojo*), riguardano una particolare località dove sono i culti degli dei singoli, e devon esser portate le offerte di tazze e vasi d'oro.

La località è Pakija, nota da altri documenti [121]) (*jeto pakijasi akeqe doraqe pere* ...); e la prima dea ricordata per gli aurei donari è la *Potnia,* e cioè qui Demetra, che di *Pakija* è la gran dea. Piuttosto che discutere sulla incerta ubicazione del santuario e sulla sua possibile identificazione meglio varrà metterne in rilievo l'importanza, che ci viene rivelata dalla lettura di altre tavolette. Si tratta di una serie di tavolette di Pilo, lungamente studiate e discusse, relative a Pakija, anzi alla Demetra di Pakija (*Pakijana* ... *Damate*) dove è minuziosamente annotata la divisione in lotti di terreni, distribuiti secondo criteri che ci sfuggono, in misure diverse e con diverso reddito a varie persone.

Non mi pare che sia stato abbastanza rilevato [122]) che in molte di queste tavolette (tutte quelle con il nome di Pakija) i personaggi elencati appartengono in maggioranza, se non in totalità, all'ambiente cultuale.

Nomi di sacerdoti e sacerdotesse vi ricorrono spesso e con singolare accentuazone; come se a loro spettassero, durante la carica, particolari compiti di verifica sulla „spettanza della dea" (es. PILO Ep 704: *erita ijereija eke euketoqe etonijo ekee teo*). Ed accanto ai sacerdoti, personaggi maggiori e minori dell'ambiente cultuale, come la *klawiphoros,* lo *ierourgos,* le *kiriteiai* (PILO Eo 338, 1; Ep 704, 7; ibidem, Ep 617, 7) [123]). Ma il tratto più caratteristico e singolare di questo

120) Discussione sulle locuzioni e distribuzioni di terreno nelle tavolette di *Pakija*; cfr. PALMER, *Trans. Phil. Soc.,* 1954, pg. 46 e sgg.; BROWN, *Historia,* 1956, pg. 385 e sgg.; BENNETT, *A.J.A.,* 1956, pg. 119, 132; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 114, 143, 258 e sgg.

121) Cfr. per i terreni del santuario eleusino di Demetra *C.I.A.* IV, 199, 834 b col. II, 1, 3 (v. FOUCART, *op. cit.,* pg. 31). Distribuzioni e donazioni di terreni a santuari e a sacerdoti son ricordate anche nei testi ittiti (cfr. FURLANI, *La religione degli Hittiti,* 264, 278) e babilonesi (LABAT, (LABAT, *op. cit.,* pg. 209 sq.).

122) Solo di passaggio vi accennano il PALMER, (*loc. cit.,* 1954), il BENNETT (*art. cit.,* 132), il BROWN (*art. cit.*) e *V.C. Documents,* pg. 236 (interessante la interpretazione di RUIPEREZ, *Minos,* 1956, pg. 148 e sgg.) sopra lo *iereus* distributore di terre.

123) Il carattere cultuale della *klawiphoros* (cfr. BENNETT, *art. cit.,* 131, *V.C. Documents,* 135, pg. 254) è garantito dal confronto con la forma dorica κλαϝοφόρος titolo sacerdotale in Messenia (*I.G.* V. I, 1447) (κληιδοφόρος si trova solo in epoca

gruppo di documenti è senza dubbio il ricorrere frequente, anzi abituale, di nomi maschili e femminili accompagnati dal titolo di *teoio doera* o *doero(s)* (θεοῖο δοῦλος, δούλη) (il Servo (o la Serva) della dea). Si tratta, va riconosciuto subito, di un titolo estraneo al culto greco, e anche potremmo dire al modo di sentire della religione ellenica di età storica. E poichè non può indicare semplici schiavi donati al tempio, privi in Grecia in ogni tempo di personalità giuridica, anzi indica persone messe in certo modo allo stesso livello dei sacerdoti, e del più alto personale del culto, penso che il titolo vada inteso piuttosto in modo non letterale ma metaforico, cercandovi spiegazione nell'ambito religioso-cultuale di altre religioni del II millennio. É comune a queste religioni, per molti aspetti così diverse, la concezione di una sorta di analogia fra il dovere dell'uomo verso il dio e quello del servo verso il padrone [124]). Questa concezione, sempre presente e quasi dominante nella religione degli Ittiti, spiega anche il titolo sumerico del re o del governatore „servitore del dio" [125]) e il significato letterale del nome del sacerdote egiziano ḥm-nṯr [126]): si può considerarne una sopravvivenza l'espressione greca dei guerrieri scudieri di Ares e dei θεραπευταί al servizio di Apollo a Delfi [127]). In età micenea a Pilo il nome di *doero* o *doera,* accompagnato dal genitivo del nome divino, (si precisa il nome del dio quando non si tratta di Demetra) indica, con designazione onorifica, individui del personale cultuale, forse gli addetti alla amministrazione dei terreni del tempio, che aveva un suo reddito, come Olimpia e Delfi, oltre che un „sacro deposito" di offerte preziose.

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tarda: Synes., *h.* I 633). La forma corrente è κληδοῦχος (di Hera, di Demetra, di Zeus). Per *zakoros* cfr. *I.G.* IV, 393; MICHEL, *Recueil,* 810. Quanto alle *Kiriteiai* BENNETT, *art. cit.,* cita il κριθολόγος, carica religiosa presso gli Opuntii (Plut. II, 29, 20; cfr. i καρπολόγοι a Taso, *Recherches,* pg. 124.

All'ambito sacerdotale si possono ricollegare forse le *rapitiriai* (PILO Ab 356, cfr. FURUMARK, *Eranos* pg. 23; GEORGIEV 1956: *Raptriai*; v. il nome di περιῤῥάπτρια dato a una sacerdotessa al Pireo: *I.G.* 2, 2, 2361, 12; *V.C. Documents,* pg. 124, 136; *A.J.A.,* 1957, pg. 61).

124) Per il titolo di servitore del dio dei re sumerici e babilonesi cfr. LABAT, *op. cit.,* pg. 131 sgg.; BURTON, *op. cit.,* pg. 199.

125) Per la concezione ittita dell'uomo servitore del dio cfr. FURLANI, *op. cit.,* pg. 176, 238, 278.

126) GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar,* 581; ERMAN, *Wörterbuch* III, 881; KEES, *Das Priestertum,* 1953, pg. 317 sgg.

127) Euripid., *Ion.,* 182; Soph., *Oidip. Tyr.,* 410.

Qualunque sia la spiegazione che se ne offre, è doveroso riconoscere che fra tanti termini greci questa frequente menzione di „Servi del dio", pur spesso congiunta a qualche bellissimo nome proprio ellenico, suona come un brusco richiamo, contro ogni illusione, a tutto quanto ancora di extragreco, e di ignoto, le tavolette nascondono. E' quasi un monito per noi a non sottovalutare il peso dei secoli densi di storia, che separano questi umili e preziosi testi dai primi „documenti" ellenici, i poemi di Esiodo e di Omero.

Intorno ad un vero e proprio santuario, meglio che ad una „cappella di palazzo" o anche ad un sacello di città, si può ambientare facilmente il cospicuo personale di culto che rivelano i documenti micenei e in particolare le tavolette fondiarie: personale adibito in parte soltanto alle vere e proprie pratiche di culto, in parte alla salvaguardia e manutenzione del sacro recinto con i suoi vari edifici, templi, sacelli o edicole, abitazioni dei sacerdoti, in parte alla amministrazione dei beni concessi dalla comunità, dal sovrano o da singoli personaggi o gruppi di persone al santuario: in una forma e secondo un criterio non facile a determinar con certezza, ma in evidente analogia con quanto si verificava da secoli nell'organizzazione dei grandi santuari d'Oriente.

Fanno parte del personale cultuale oltre al sacerdote (o sacerdotessa) adibito al sacrificio e ai suoi ministri (*thuweas, ierourgos, pyrkoas*) (An 39, 1 +), ai Servi e alle Serve del Dio, addetti forse in modo particolare alla amministrazione dei beni del tempio, altri numerosi personaggi, qualcuno più umile, come gli *zakoroi*, forse ancora una mansione effettiva, non un semplice titolo onorifico quale diventerà più tardi a Olimpia e Eleusi (*dakoro*: PILO An 208, 8; 424, 3 +; PILO Un 219, 5) [128]) (ζάκορος), altri più importanti come il *naodomos* (*naudomo*: PILO Na 568, Vn 865, 1) incaricato di eventuali restauri o della costruzione di nuovi edifici sacri e la *klawiphoros*, custode solenne delle sacre porte, come più tardi le κληδοῦχοι di Hera e di Demetra (*karawiporo*).

Con la continuità della tradizione religiosa, di per sè fortemente conservatrice nella vita chiusa dei grandi santuari, si spiega anche il persistere fino in età ellenistica, o addirittura romana, di termini

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128) Etymol. Magnum s.v.; MICHEL, *Recueil*, 810, cfr. 865 (v. *Philologus*, 37, 353); Plut., *Cam.* 30; Athen., 13, pg. 590 e; *IG* IV, 393; cfr. DITTENBERGER, 996.

„micenei" anche se forse non particolari del culto, a Micene Pilo Cnosso. Così a Eleusi l'amministratore dei sacri beni porta il nome „miceneo" di *tamieu* (*tamieu* PILO Jn 310, 3) [129]; e i panettieri [130] che intridono il „popanon" portano il nome di ἀρτοκόποι (*atopoqoi* PILO An 39, 11 +; Fn 50, 7; MICENE An 102; Oe 117).

Ma soltanto all'ombra di grandi centri di culto, e in un ambiente sacrale assai particolare, si giustifica e si intende la menzione di determinate associazioni cultuali „micenee" che, per quanto impreveduta possa riuscircene la presenza, i testi micenei chiaramente testimoniano nella Grecia del II millennio. Si tratta degli *Orgeónes*, ad Atene in stretto rapporto con il culto di Demetra e poi di alcune divinità straniere: misteriosa associazione, quasi potremmo dire confraternita, nota da documenti letterari, che recenti rinvenimenti di documenti epigrafici del IV secolo avevano tempo fa richiamato in discussione; associazione legata, come il nome stesso dice, alla celebrazione non pubblica di sacre cerimonie segrete (ὄργια), e vincolata all'obbligo di determinate funzioni religiose, in tempi tardi anche di contributi finanziari [131].

L'aver ritrovato ora nei testi micenei notizia di un *Orgeioneion* cioè di un terreno, forse con un edificio, di proprietà degli *Orge(i)ónes* (*Worokijoneio* PILO Er 312, 7; Un 718, 11; cfr. attico ὀργε(ι)ῶνες) [132] (Ventris-Chadwick), indurrà a spostare i termini del problema, e a modificarne la impostazione. E sia pur con due sole testimonianze, tutte e due di Pilo (non, come ci si aspetterebbe forse, di Creta), si ripropone pur in altra forma il quesito, famigliare agli storici delle religioni egee preistoriche, dei culti misterici in Egeo nell'età del bronzo.

Sempre con la guida di quella duplice testimonianza pilia mi pare verosimile e in certo senso naturale collegare allo stesso ambiente

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129) Cfr. a Coo ταμιεῖον (cfr. A. MAIURI, *Nuova Silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, 1925, pg. 151, 442. 2); la parola consueta del culto greco è ταμίας.

130) GEORGIEV, *Études Mycéniennes*, pg. 56; cfr. ἀρτοκόπος Olimpia (*Olympia*, V 136; 78, 6).

131) *Orgeones* a Eleusi: cfr. Harpocrat. presso Philochor., *loc. cit.* (*I.G.* II, 2, 1280; DITTENBERGER, *Syll.*, 1327, 2917, a Atene di *Bendis*); cfr. W. S. FERGUSON, *Hesperia* 8/1949, pg. 131 (cfr. *ibidem*, pg. 282) di Afrodite (ibidem, 1949, pg. 141; *I.G.* II, 1327), del Pireo (DITTENBERGER, *Syll.*, 1102); cfr. per gli ὀργίονες a Creta *H. hom. ad Apoll.*, 389.

132) *V.C. Documents*, 171, 283; inteso come „associazione cultuale" anche in *A.J.A.*, 1957, pg. 61.

sacrale il termine di *Telestai* (*tereta*) [133]) (gen. *teretao*) PILO Eb 149, 1 +; Fc 411, 1; En 409,2; Eq 146, 1; Er 312, 6; Er 312, 5 (gen.); CNOSSO Am 826 [134]), che più volte ricorre in contesti frammentari o oscuri, ma a Pilo almeno una volta in diretto rapporto col santuario di Demetra di Pakija (*pakijanija tosa Damate Da 40 tosode tereta eneesi uomini 14*: PILO En 609) in testa a una lunga lista di „Serve" e „Servi della dea", di sacerdoti e sacerdotesse.

Poichè se pur non vogliamo forzarne il significato fino al senso misterico che certo la parola ha avuto almeno in età ellenistica, (e verosimilmente nel V secolo), il nome di *tele(s)tai* ci richiama per sicura testimonianza di una serie non breve di documenti al particolarissimo ambiente sacrale del santuario eleusino di Demetra dove le „teletai", sacre cerimonie religiose, acquistano particolare carattere e valore misterico e dove il nome dei ministri del culto e dei funzionari delegati dalla comunità a presiedervi (τελεσταί) assumono carattere e significato misterico, enfatizzato dalle fonti più tarde [135]) (anche in culti e ambienti sacrali affatto diversi come a Olimpia, sempre il termine di *telestás* designa cariche di importanza cultuale). All'ambiente eleusino di Demetra sembra richiamarci d'altronde anche la singolare figura dello *iereu(s) pomen* (ποιμήν) [136]) che, più che a analoghi termini di determinati culti ellenici, forse va posto a confronto con i *Poimenides*, una delle tre schiatte a cui spetta il privilegio della carica eleusinia di ierofante.

Sempre tenendo conto di questo quadro, che pur fra tante incertezze le tavolette pilie vanno gradatamente rivelandoci, potrebbe esser interpretato anche quel termine di *Wanaktero* (*Wanaktera*) che solitamente viene inteso come un sinonimo o duplicato di *wanaka*. Mi parrebbe più verosimile interpretarlo partendo dall'*anaktoron* (ἀνάκ-

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133) *tereta* da tutti gli studiosi di miceneo è inteso come termine politico-amministrativo, cfr. per i τελεσταί Poll., *Onom.* I, 35; Clem., *Strom.* V, 4, V, 9; Phot. s.v. (cfr. per le varie interpretazioni moderne P.W. s.v. *teletai* II, 9, 1934; *Sylloge*, 1113; WILAMOWITZ, *op. cit.*, pg. 341; V. MAGNIEN, *Les mystères d'Eleusis*, 1956, pg. 30 e sgg.).

134) Anche τελετά è usato in senso personale, di persona legata ai misteri, da Plat., *Phaed.*, 63 c-d; e in senso di *ierofante* da Eupsron., 1, Demetra. ap D.H. *Pomp.*, 2, 6.

135) *Olympia* V, 9, 8.

136) Cfr. BENNETT *A.J.A.*, 1956, pg. 139; v. per i *Poimenides* a Eleusi NILSSON, *Gesch. Griech. Relig.*, 672.

τορον, ἀνάκτορα) [137]) del tempio eleusinio, che senza dubbio va posto in relazione con ἄνάκτωρ, probabilmente da intendersi come titolo, o epiteto, del dio (a questo modo anche la tavoletta Er 312 di Pilo, dove con i *teletai* e l'*Orgeoneion* è ricordato il *Wanakatero temeno,* rientrerebbe fra le tavolette attinenti all'ambiente cultuale).

L'importanza del culto e più in genere della religione nella civiltà micenea nonostante la scarsità dei documenti trova conferma nell'esistenza stessa di quei „calendari rituali" di cui, a Cnosso come a Pilo, molte tavolette di carattere sacrale sono frammenti. L'aver individuato e cercato di intender tali „Calendari" è merito grande, dopo il deciframento del Ventris, di Palmer, Furumark, Meriggi, Pugliese Carratelli, Gallavotti [138]).

Sappiamo ora che viene dal calendario „miceneo" l'uso di dare nomi di dei, o comunque sacrali, ai mesi, al modo stesso del Vicino Oriente, (*pajanijo, diwijojo, daeritojo*). Il perdurar di nomi di mese micenei in singoli centri isolati (*diwijojo, rapato*) in età classica e oltre, porta definitiva conferma alla continuità del calendario rituale greco dall'età del bronzo alla tarda antichità [139]).

Nomi in apparenza stagionali, ma in realtà pur essi sacri, al modo di tutte le grandi religioni mediterraneo-orientali del II millennio, sono i nomi dei mesi di *kiritijojo* e *porowitojo* (PILO Es 650, 1; Tn 316 rev.): il primo certo prende le mosse dalle grandi feste per il raccolto, il secondo probabilmente è legato a qualche festività religiosa celebrata con il trasporto di un simulacro divino portato su barca o su nave, come la festa babilonese del Nuovo Anno, o la festa primaverile egizia del *Navigium Isidis* [140]). E' troppo presto per dire se vi sia nei

137) Per *wanakatero* su un'iscrizione di vaso a Tebe cfr. MARINATOS, *Minos,* 1956, 12; per l'*anaktoron* d'Eleusi, DEUBNER, *op. cit.,* pg. 87 e sgg., 267 e sgg.; (cfr. Athen., 213 d, 167 1; A P IX, 147; Herodot., 9, 65); *J.H.S.,* 1955, pg. 6 (Suppl.).

138) *porowitojo* (πλοϝιτοῖο) Tn 314+; cfr. PALMER, *Eranos,* 1954, pg. 11; GALLAVOTTI, *Documenti,* pg. 286; MERIGGI, *art. cit.,* 1954, pg. 32 e sgg; *Kiritijojo* (*Krithïoïo*) PILO Es 650,1.

139) *Diwijojo,* CNOSSO Fp 5; cfr. il mese Δῖος in Macedonia, EEtolia e Tessalia; *rapato* Fp 13; cfr. Λαπάτος mese in Arcadia (v. CARRATELLI, 1955, *art. cit.,* pg. 5). Da aggiungere probabilmente *paqosijojo* CNOSSO X 441 (cfr. GEORGIEV, *art. cit.,* pg. 56), παμβωσίοιο, cfr. παμβωτάδεςin iscrizioni del Pritaneo di Atene (*Hesperia* 1937, 9, 72 etc.). Per il calendario babilonese cfr. FURLANI, *Religione babilonese-assira,* 1929, pg. 201; LANGDON, *Babylonian Menologies and Semitic Calendar,* 1923.

140) Per i battelli del dio nella festa babilonese del Nuovo Anno cfr. *A.N.E.T.*

testi micenei anche il preciso ricordo di singole feste o cerimonie sacre elleniche. Nomi che suggestivamente richiamano i famosi nomi delle *Apaturie* (*Apatuwote* PILO Cn 399), dei *Kutroi* (*Kutereupi* PILO An 507, 2; Na 296), delle feste di *Posideia* (*Posidajieusi* PILO Fp 187, 18), di *Chalkeia* (*Kakeiapi* CNOSSO Sd 0409), di *Aroia* (*Aroja* PILO Fn 0120; Ab 336), della *Dorpia* (*Doqeja* PILO An 607, 1 +) sono in contesti ancora troppo oscuri perchè la identificazione si possa dir certa [141]).

Ma già allo stato iniziale e provvisorio delle ricerche un nuovo campo si è aperto all'indagine.

Anticipata in suolo greco di oltre mezzo millennio, la religione greca andrà ristudiata in mutata prospettiva.

P.S. Non ho avuto modo di consultare l'articolo di K. KERENYI, *Die Herkunft der Dionysosreligion nach dem heutigen Stand der Forschung, Arbeitsgemeinschaft f. Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen,* 56, 1956; nè l'altro articolo dello stesso Kerenyi in *Symbolae Osloenses* (1957).

334; LABAT, *op. cit.,* 171; per la festa del *Navigium Isidis, CIL* I, 2, 311; *Ath. Mitth.* XXXVII, 1912; CUMONT, *op. cit.,* pg. 90, 231.

141) *Apaturie*: il confronto con la festa attica è di CHADWICK-VENTRIS, *Studies in Mycenaean Dialects,* 1956, pg. 41. *Chytrai*: DEUBNER *op. cit.,* pg. 93, 112 (*I.G.* III, 1160). *Posidea,* cfr. DEUBNER, pg. 214 (in Tn 316, rev. 4 Posideia è un nome di dea?) (anche a Lesbo e Teno *I.G.* XII, 304, 19; Suid. s.v., per l'arcaicità della festa *Chalkeia*: ibidem, pg. 36 (*Etymol. Magnum* s.v., 805, 43). *Haloa*: DEUBNER, *op. cit.,* 121; FOUCART, *op. cit.,* pg. 54. *Dorpia* (terzo giorno delle Apaturie), v. DEUBNER, *op. cit.,* pg. 232.

DIE BEGEGNUNG DES CHRISTENTUMS MIT DER AZTEKISCHEN RELIGION*)

VON

GÜNTER LANCZKOWSKI

Als Fernando Cortez im Frühjahr 1519 den Boden Mexikos betrat [1]), war das Reich der Azteken, geschichtlich gesehen, noch ein junger Staat [2]). Auch die Hauptstadt des Landes, Tenochtitlan, an deren Stelle sich heute Mexiko City erhebt, war eine späte Gründung. Als die Spanier die Lagunenstadt, ein Venedig der Neuen Welt, zuerst erblickten, waren sie geblendet vom Reichtum und der Pracht, die ihnen entgegentraten. Cortez hat in seiner schriftlichen Relation vom 30. Oktober 1520 an Kaiser Karl V. diesen Eindruck festgehalten [3]): „Grossmächtigster Herr, um Ew. königlichen Exzellenz Rechenschaft von der Grossartigkeit und den absonderlichen und wunderbaren Dingen der Stadt ... zu geben ..., würde es vieler Zeit und vieler und sehr erfahrener Berichterstatter bedürfen. Ich vermag meinesteils nicht

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*) Vortrag, gehalten am 30.7.1957 auf der 7. Jahrestagung des Deutschen Zweigs der Internationalen Vereinigung für Religionsgeschichte (*I.A.H.R.*), Marburg/Lahn.

1) Zur Eroberungsgeschichte vgl. William H. PRESCOTT, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843); erste deutsche Ausgabe: Leipzig 1845; Bernal CASTILLO DEL DÍAZ, *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva España,* Mexico 1904 f.; engl. Übers.: *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain,* transl. by A. P. MAUDSLAY, 5 Bde., London 1908-1916; Eduard SELER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde,* Bd. 4, Berlin 1923, S. 445-452: Der Einmarsch der Spanier in die Hauptstadt Königs Motecuhçoma's.

2) Zur aztekischen Geschichte vgl. Edward King Lord KINGSBOROUGH, *Antiquities of Mexico,* 9 Bde., London 1930-1948; George C. VAILLANT, *The Aztecs of Mexico. Origin, Rise and Fall of the Aztec Nation,* New York 1944, weitere Ausgaben London 1950, 1951 u. 1953 in: Penguin Books (Nr. A 200); Walter LEHMANN, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico,* Text mit Übersetzung (Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas, Bd. I), Stuttgart 1938.

3) Die Eroberung von Mexiko. Drei eigenhändige Berichte von Ferdinand CORTEZ an Kaiser Karl V., bearb. von E. SCHULTZE (Bibliothek wertvoller Memoiren, Bd. 4), Hamburg 1907, S. 163; vgl. ferner: Drei Berichte des General-Kapitäns von Neu-Spanien Don Fernando CORTES an Kaiser Karl V. Aus dem Spanischen übersetzt, mit einem Vorworte und erläuternden Anmerkungen von Carl Wilhelm KOPPE, Berlin 1834.

den hundertsten Teil dessen zu sagen, was gesagt werden könnte. So gut ich es indessen vermag, will ich einiges von dem erzählen, was ich selbst gesehen habe; und ich bin überzeugt, dass dies, obwohl übel vorgetragen, dennoch solche Verwunderung erregen wird, dass man es nicht wird glauben können — sind doch wir selbst, die wir es hier mit unseren eigenen Augen betrachten, ausserstande, es mit unserer Vernunft zu begreifen." Mit solchen Worten bestätigt ein zeitgenössischer europäischer Bericht, was wir heute aus archäologischen Forschungen und aztekischen Quellen wissen, und es trifft jedenfalls nicht für Mexiko zu, was ein moderner amerikanischer Lyriker, Archibald MacLeish, allgemein formulierte: „Im Osten waren die toten Könige und die erinnerungsschweren Gräber. Im Westen war das Gras."

Das Zentrum jenes Reiches, das sich von den Prärien des Nordens bis zu den Dschungeln der Landenge, von der Golfküste bis zu den Ufern des Stillen Ozeans erstreckte, die Kaiserstadt Tenochtitlan war mit ihren stolzen Palästen, ihren Pyramiden und Tempeln, ihren Terrassen und Kanälen ein Zeugnis der Höhe menschlicher Zivilisation, das denen der alten Kulturen des Ostens ebenbürtig zur Seite stand. Zugleich war die Hauptstadt des Aztekenreiches, wie sie sich auf der mittleren Hochebene Mexikos in 2200 m Höhe an den Ufern und auf den Wassern der Lagunen erhob, ein Symbol für den Aufstieg der aztekischen Macht, ihrer politischen Grösse und ihrer schnellen Aneignung und Fortführung des kulturellen Erbes früherer Zeiten.

Denn die Azteken waren nicht die ersten indianischen Stämme, die jenes später von Tenochtitlan beherrschte Land besiedelten, das in aztekischer Sprache den Namen Ānahuac — „dicht beim Wasser" — trug Lange vor ihnen — im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert — hatten dort die Tolteken gewohnt. Von ihrer Geschichte haben wir nur unbestimmte Kunde; denn historische Überlieferung und Sage vermischen sich in den späteren Berichten, seit die Obsidianschlange, Itzcoatl, der vierte aztekische Herrscher, der von 1428 bis 1440 regierte, die alten Chroniken verbrennen liess. „Die Schriften wurden verbrannt", so heisst es in indianischen Überlieferungen [4]. „zur Zeit als Itzcoatl König

4) Eduard SELER, *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des* Fray Bernardino de SAHAGÚN, aus dem Aztekischen übersetzt(mit aztekischem Text), Stuttgart 1927, S. 435 f.; vgl. auch: Fray Bernadino de SAHAGÚN, *General History of the Things of New Spain,* translated from the Aztec into English, with Notes and Illustrations (mit aztekischem Text) by Arthur J. O. ANDERSON and Charles E. DIBBLE, Santa Fe, New Mexico 1950-1955.

von Mexiko war. Eine Beratung fand statt der mexikanischen Fürsten. Sie sprachen: Es ist nicht nötig, dass alles Volk kenne die schwarze und die rote Farbe der Schrift, die Untertanen, die Hörigen. Herabwürdigung wird die Folge sein, und das Land in einen Zustand der Verstellung gebracht werden. Viele Lügen sind darin enthalten, und viele zu Unrecht als Götter angebetet worden."

Aber trotz dieses radikalen Bruches mit der Vergangenheit, der, durchaus vergleichbar der grossen chinesischen Bücherverbrennung unter Kaiser Shih Huang-Ti, am Beginn einer neuen Epoche, der der Vorrangstellung aztekischer Macht, erfolgte, haben die späteren Azteken das Erbe toltekischer Kultur willig anerkannt. Sie gaben dem Worte *toltecatl* die Nebenbedeutung „Kunstfertiger" [5]), und sie sahen in den Tolteken die Erfinder von Kalender und Schrift, der Kunst des Bauens und Bildens. Von Pater Bernardino de Sahagún, der 1529, also acht Jahre nach der Einnahme von Tenochtitlan, als Missionar ins Land kam [6]) und mit der von ihm veranlassten Niederschrift einheimischer Relationen in aztekischer Sprache und typisch aztekischer Diktion durch aztekische Adlige eine unserer vornehmsten Quellen zur Kenntnis von Religion, Kultur und Geschichte der Azteken schuf, erfahren wir hierüber [7]): „Tolteken — das sind kluge und geschickte Leute, ihre Werke sind alle schön, alle trefflich, alle verständig, alle wunderbar... Das waren Weise, die fanden, die gaben Kenntnis von den Heilmitteln, die machten den Anfang mit der ärztlichen Kunst... Sie, die Tolteken, waren gar weise, waren gar nachdenklich. Denn sie machten den Anfang mit der Rechnung nach einem Jahr, mit der Rechnung nach Tageszeichen... Diese Tolteken waren in jeder Weise rechtschaffen, nicht lügnerisch waren sie."

In den indianischen Völkerwanderungen des 12. Jahrhunderts haben die Tolteken, deren geistige Priorität die Azteken später noch so uneingeschränkt anerkannten, das Land von Anahuac verlassen, und an ihre Stelle traten zunächst Stämme, die wir unter dem Namen Chichimeken zusammenfassen. Erst im 13. Jahrhundert kommen die Azteca oder Mexica nach 150jähriger Wanderung, die ihren Ausgang in dem

5) Zur aztekischen Sprache vgl. Jakob SCHOEMBS, *Aztekische Schriftsprache.* Grammatik (mit Lautlehre), Text und Glossar, Heidelberg 1949.

6) SAHAGÚN — sein Name nach seinem Geburtsort in der Provinz Leon — war Franziskaner in Salamanca, ging 1529 als Missionar nach Mexiko, wo er, über neunzig Jahre alt, am 23. Oktober 1590 starb.

7) SAHAGÚN bei SELER (s. Anm. 4), S. 388 ff.

mythischen Lande Aztlan, der Stätte des *aztatl,* des „Reihers", genommen haben soll, von Nordwesten her nach Ānahuac und erhalten, ohne das ihnen zunächst Bedeutung beigemessen wird, die Erlaubnis zur Ansiedlung *intollihtic inacaihtic,* „inmitten von Rohr, inmitten von Schilf". Ihr kriegerischer Gott Uitzilopochtli, der „Kolibri des Südens", der die Azteken während ihrer Wanderung geführt hat, sagt ihrem Oberpriester Adler-Schlange, Cuauhcoatl, voraus, dass sich aus jenem unwirtlichen Sumpfland die Grösse des aztekischen Mexiko erheben wird [8]): „O Cuauhcoatl! Du hast gesehen, was es da unten im Schilf alles gibt, und du hast dich darüber verwundert. Doch höre: es gibt noch andere Dinge, die du nicht gesehen hast ... Dort wollen wir uns niederlassen, dort wollen wir herrschen, warten und den anderen Völkern entgegentreten, auf dass wir sie mit Pfeil und Schild unterwerfen. Dort soll auch unsere Hauptstadt Mexiko-Tenochtitlan stehen, dort, wo der Adler seinen Schrei ertönen lässt, wo er seine Schwingen ausbreitet und seine Nahrung sucht, dort, wo der Fisch schwimmt und die Schlange vertilgt wird; Mexiko-Tenochtitlan, vieles wird dort geschehen!"

Wie eine Erfüllung dieser Prophetie vollzieht sich die weitere, kurze Geschichte der Azteken in schnellem Aufstieg: ihre Staatsbildung unter Acamapichtli am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts; die Erlangung der Suprematie über die umliegenden Stadtstaaten unter Itzcoatl, die nach dem Tode Nezahualcoiotls von Texcoco, jenes wegen seiner monotheistischen Tendenzen mit dem ägyptischen König Echnaton verglichenen Herrschers, gewonnen wird; schliesslich die systematische Ausbreitung des aztekischen Herrschaftsgebietes bis hin zu jenem unglücklichen „zornigen Herrn", Motecuçoma II. mit dem Beinamen Xocoiotzin, „der Jüngere", bei dessen Steinigung im Jahre 1520 der rasche Zusammenbruch der gewaltigsten Macht, die Mexiko gesehen hat, sich unter dem Ansturm der Spanier unaufhaltsam vollzieht. Denn der Anführer des letzten Aufstandes der Mexikaner, der „herabsteigende Adler", Cuauhtemoctzin, ein junger Adliger von ergreifender Grösse, der unter den Waffen des Widerstandes zum letzten Kaiser der Azteken gekrönt war, fällt in die Hand der Spanier und wird von Cortez, obwohl ihm dieser bei seiner Ehre versprach, ihn seiner

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8) Vgl. Jacques SOUSTELLE, *So lebten die Azteken am Vorabend der spanischen Eroberung* (*La vie quotidienne des Aztèques*), Stuttgart 1936, S. 25.

Tapferkeit gemäss zu behandeln, beim ersten unbegründeten Verdacht der Widersetzlichkeit hingerichtet.

Vergegenwärtigt man sich zunächst die profanhistorischen Fakten der Begegnung des spanischen Reiches mit Mexiko — um dann auf ihrem Hintergrund die geistesgeschichtlichen und religiösen nur erst recht erkennen zu können und umso bedeutsamer hervortreten zu sehen —, so zeigt sich zweifelsfrei, dass das Zusammentreffen der beiden bis dahin geographisch weit von einander entfernten Mächte durch die Verschiedenheiten der machtmässigen Struktur, des sozialen Gefüges und der Kriegstechnik in seinem Ausgang durchaus nicht erklärt ist.

Gewiss war das Aztekenreich kein zentralisierter Einheitsstaat [9]). Es bestand zur Zeit Motecuçomas II. aus 38 lehenspflichtigen Provinzen mit unterschiedlichem politischen Statut, autonomer Verwaltung, selbständiger Gerichtsbarkeit und ungleichartigen, durch verschiedene Sprachen gekennzeichneten Bevölkerungsgruppen. Hinzu kamen mehrere theoretisch unabhängige Enklaven, die von Stadtstaaten gebildet wurden; das politische Denken der Mexikaner, in manchem dem römischen vergleichbar, kennt als staatliche Einheit überhaupt nur die Stadt: *altepetl* — das Wort setzt sich aus den Vokabeln für „Wasser" und „Gebirge" zusammen.

Trotz dieser staatsrechtlichen Differenzierung befand sich die aztekische Macht zur Zeit des spanischen Angriffs praktisch nicht im Zustande der Auflösung, sondern eher der zunehmenden Festigung durch die Autorität der kaiserlichen Spitze. Der Träger des Türkisdiadems, nominell nur der Oberherr des Dreibundes der Städte Mexiko, Texcoco und Tlacopan, den wir mit „Kaiser" oder „König" bezeichnen, trug die Titel *tlatoani* und *tlatatecutli*. Das erste Wort — *tlatoani* — leitet sich von einem Verbum *tlatoa* her, das „reden, sagen, das Wort führen" heisst und zunehmend die Bedeutung „herrschen" gewinnt, in der es in den Substantiven *tlatocachan*, „Herrschersitz, Palast", und *tlatocaiotl*, „Herrschaft, Befehlsgewalt, Staat", hervortritt. Mit *tlatatecutli* ist der „Gebieter" — *tecutli* — über „Menschen" — *tlacatl*, pl. *tlacā* — bezeichnet. Kommt somit in diesen Titeln die Stellung des Kaisers als Wortführer im Rat und als Universalherrscher, der „Vater und Mutter der Mexikaner" war, zum Ausdruck, so entbehrte die aztekische Mo-

9) Zu Gesellschaft und Staat vgl. SOUSTELLE, *a.a.O.* S. 61 ff.; Theodor-Wilhelm DANZEL, *Mexiko* II, Hagen i.W. u. Darmstadt 1922, S. 11 ff.

narchie auch nicht einer Legitimation durch Tradition und sakrale Notwendigkeit. Die Sage leitete die Herkunft der Dynastie durch Adoption von den Tolteken her; auf religiösem Gebiete war der Kaiser, der mit einem durch numinose Scheu bestimmten Zeremoniell umgeben wurde, verantwortlich für die Aufrechterhaltung des Götterkultes. Die solcherart fundierte Macht trat am sinnenfälligsten zutage, wenn er den Oberbefehl über die verbündeten Truppen führte.

Angesichts dieser Konzentration geistiger und realer Macht dürfen sicherlich auch soziale Faktoren nicht, wie es zuweilen geschehen ist, überbewertet werden im Hinblick auf den Untergang des Aztekenreiches. Selbstverständlich stellten die Stände des *macehualli,* des Plebejers, und des *tlalmaitl,* der „Hand der Erde", des besitzlosen Bauern, zahlenmässig starke Schichten dar und hatten, da sie vor allem in den Provinzen wenig Rechte besassen, naturgemäss geringes Interesse an der Erhaltung des Reiches. Innere Spannungen ergaben sich auch aus der Tatsache eines rasch aufsteigenden Kaufmannsstandes, der die Macht der Privatvermögen gegen den amtsgebundenen Einfluss der alten Führerschicht des Adels setzte.

Aber ebensowenig wie diese Faktoren entscheidend waren für den Zusammenbruch der aztekischen Macht, können die Unterschiede in der Bewaffnung der mexikanischen und spanischen Heere im Verein mit der skrupellosen spanischen Kriegführung hierfür verantwortlich gemacht werden. Denn die Vorteile der eisernen Ausrüstungen und der Feuerwaffen, die auf Seiten der Spanier standen, wurden voll ausgeglichen durch die Notwendigkeit, in einem ihnen unbekannten Lande mit einer zahlenmässig so äusserst minimalen Streitmacht kämpfen zu müssen.

Wenn es Fernando Cortez gelang, mit einem bunt zusammengewürfelten Abenteurerhaufen von nur 508 spanischen Soldaten einen wagehalsigen Ritterroman in die Annalen der Conquista zu schreiben, ins Herz des Reiches Motecuçomas II., nach Tenochtitlan, vorzustossen, den grössten und bedeutendsten Staat der indianischen Welt in wenigen Jahren zu zerschlagen und aus ihm die Kolonie Nueva España zu bilden, so stellen die geistigen, die religiösen Momente nicht nur im Rückblick den eigentlichen Reiz dieser Begegnung Europas mit der Neuen Welt dar, sondern sie bedingen auch den Ablauf und Ausgang der historischen Geschehnisse.

Das Eingreifen Europas in Mexiko, Landung und Kampf der krie-

gerischen Vertreter der Universalmonarchie Karls V., ihr Vorgehen und ihr Erfolg sind nur verständlich als Teil jener intentionell religiös bestimmten Bewegung, die, in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, von dem portugiesischen Prinzen Heinrich begonnen wurde, dem die Geschichte den Beinamen „der Seefahrer" gegeben hat. Geistig geprägt von Vorstellungen und Lebensformen des Mittelalters und aufgewachsen in den Traditionen des portugiesischen Staates, der sich, aus den Resten christlich-westgotischer Macht hervorgegangen, als Grenzmark des Abendlandes gegen den Islam verstand, hatte Prinz Heinrich, der jüngste der fünf Söhne des portugiesischen Königs Johann des Grossen, nach Abschluss der Reconquista, der Wiedergewinnung des christlichen Portugal im Kampfe gegen die maurische Herrschaft, an der Küste des Landes mit dem Blick auf das Weltmeer die Villa do Iffante bezogen, in der er das Hauptquartier für die fortschreitende Eroberung der Erde errichtete, sein geographisches Seminar, seine Schiffahrtsschule, seine Seewarte. Am Beginn der globalen Ausbreitung des Europäertums über die Erde steht mithin die Ausweitung der dem Kreuzzugsgedanken verwandten Reconquista zur Conquista, zur Missionierung und Eroberung der heidnischen Welt. Unter ihrem Vorzeichen erfolgt, wie wenig in manchem auch die Praxis dem Ideal entsprochen haben mag, der Eingriff Spaniens in Mexiko.

Das zeigt deutlich das Verhalten des Cortez gegen die einheimischen Götter und ihre Kulte und das sich daran anknüpfende Religionsgespräch mit Motecuçoma, wie es, als ein Höhepunkt der Begegnung des Christentums mit der aztekischen Religion und ein in der noch ungeschriebenen Geschichte der grossen Religonsgespräche faszinierendes Ereignis, von Cortez in einem seiner Briefe an Karl V. berichtet wird [10]):

„Die vornehmsten dieser Götzenbilder, auf die sie am meisten Glauben und Vertrauen setzen, warf ich von ihren Postamenten, liess sie die Treppen hinabstürzen und liess die Kapellen reinigen, in denen sie gestanden hatten. Denn diese waren alle voll des bei den Opfern vergossenen Blutes. Ich liess aber die Bilder unserer lieben Frau und

10) 2. Bericht vom 30.X.1520, s. Ferdinand CORTEZ (Ausg. von E. SCHULTZE), S. 174 ff.; zu christlich-aztekischen Religionsgesprächen vgl. ferner: *Sterbende Götter und christliche Heilsbotschaft.* Wechselreden indianischer Vornehmer und spanischer Glaubensapostel in Mexiko 1524, spanischer und mexikanischer Text mit deutscher Übersetzung von Walter LEHMANN, hrsg. von Gerdt KUTSCHER (Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas, Bd. III), Stuttgart 1949.

anderer Heiligen darin aufstellen, worüber Motecuçoma und die Eingeborenen sich nicht wenig betrübten. Zuerst sagten sie mir, ich möge es nicht tun: denn wenn man das in den Gemeinden erführe, würden diese gegen mich aufstehen, weil sie glaubten, dass diese Götzen ihnen alle zeitlichen Güter gewährten, und wenn man sie misshandeln liesse, sich darob erzürnen, ihnen nichts mehr gewähren und ihnen die Früchte auf dem Lande verdorren lassen würden, so dass alles Volk vor Hunger sterben müsste. Ich aber liess sie durch die Dolmetscher bedeuten, wie verkehrt es doch wäre, wenn sie ihre Hoffnung auf solche Götzenbilder setzten, das Werk ihrer eigenen Hände, aus unreinen Stoffen gefertigt! Sie müssten wissen, dass es einen einzigen Gott gebe, den allgemeinen Herrn über uns alle, der den Himmel geschaffen habe und die Erde und alle Dinge und sie und uns. Dieser sei ohne Anfang und unsterblich; ihn müssten sie anbeten und an ihn glauben, nicht aber irgend ein Geschöpf oder Ding. Noch mehr sagte ich ihnen, soviel ich selbst nur von der Sache wusste, um sie von ihrer Abgötterei abzulenken und sie für die Erkenntnis des Herrn, unseres Gottes, zu gewinnen.

„Sie alle, vornehmlich aber Motecuçoma, antworteten darauf: sie hätten mir bereits gesagt, dass sie nicht ursprüngliche Kinder dieses Landes seien, sondern dass vor sehr langer Zeit ihre Vorfahren erst dorthin gekommen seien; und sie glaubten wohl, dass sie vielleicht in einigen ihrer Annahmen irren könnten, weil sie so lange schon von ihrem Ursprunge entfernt seien. Ich, der ich erst neuerdings angekommen sei, möge vielleicht besser als sie selbst die Dinge wissen, die sie annehmen und glauben sollten; ich möge sie ihnen also sagen und verständlich machen — sie wollten tun, was ich ihnen gesagt hätte und wie es ohne Zweifel am besten sein werde.

„Motecuçoma und viele Vornehmste der Stadt begleiteten mich nachher, als ich die Götzenbilder hinauswerfen, die Kapellen reinigen und unsere Heiligenbilder daselbst aufstellen liess, und sie machten ein ganz vergnügliches Gesicht zu alledem. Auch verbot ich ihnen, noch weiter kleine Kinder den Göttern zu opfern, wie sie es bisher gewohnt gewesen waren; denn abgesehen davon, dass dies Gott ein arger Greuel sei, habe es auch Ew. Majestät in Dero Gesetzen verboten und befohlen, dass, wer töte, wiederum des Todes sterben solle. Wirklich unterliessen sie es von jetzt an; und während der ganzen

Zeit, die ich in dieser Stadt verweilte, sah man niemals wieder ein Kind schlachten oder opfern."

Selbstverständlich muss dieser einseitige Bericht kritisch überprüft und, zur Herausstellung des historischen Kerns, seiner tendenziösen Übertreibung hinsichtlich des Erfolgs dieser Missionierungsmethode entkleidet werden. Religionsgeschichtlich einseitig ist zunächst die wohl absichtliche Hervorhebung der rituellen Tötung kleiner Kinder. Wir kennen die spezielle Form der Menschenopfer, wie sie für die Chibcha-Indianer Südamerikas bezeugt ist, aus dem Aztekenreich nicht als typische Form der sakralen Tötung; nur dem Regengott Tlaloc wurden dort mit Vorliebe Kinder dargebracht, deren Tränen dann in Analogie zu den Tropfen des erhofften Regens gesehen wurden [11]). Auch der behauptete schnelle Umschwung in der Geisteshaltung der Mexikaner, insbesondere des Motecuçoma, mit einer allzu eilig angenommenen positiven Stellung zur Polemik des Cortez gegen die aztekische Religion und zu seiner Verkündigung des christlichen Gottes ist Tendenz. Tatsächlich ist Motecuçoma trotz seiner politischen Zugeständnisse an die Spanier auch nach seiner Gefangennahme nicht zum Christentum übergetreten. Was die aztekische Haltung betrifft, so liegt der verbleibende Wahrheitskern des Berichtes darin, dass die Mexikaner gegenüber den christlichen Missionierungsversuchen keine eindeutige und geschlossene Gegnerschaft zeigten, sondern eine seltsam schwankende Haltung, der religiöse Motive, von denen später zu handeln sein wird, zugrunde lagen.

Zunächst interessiert die Haltung des Spanier. Der Bericht des Cor-

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11) Franz HAMPL, *Die Religionen der Mexikaner, Maya und Peruaner* („Christus und die Religionen der Erde", hrsg. von Franz KÖNIG, Bd. II, Freiburg i.Br. 1951, S. 751-784), S. 765.
Über den Regengott Tlaloc vgl. SAHAGÚN (bei SELER), S. 3:

„Dem Regengott, dem Regenpriester
wurde der Regen zugeschrieben.
Er schuf,
liess herabkommen, streute aus
den Regen und den Hagel,
liess aufblühen, aufsprossen,
grün werden, aufplatzen,
wachsen die Bäume,
das Gras, den Mais.
Und ferner wurde ihm zugeschrieben
das Ertränken der Leute im Wasser
und das Erschlagen mit dem Blitze."

tez zeigt mit aller wünschenswerten Klarheit, dass der Kampf gegen das Aztekenreich als Aktion im Rahmen der christlichen Conquista verstanden wird und dass es dabei vornehmlich zwei zentrale Äusserungen der aztekischen Religion sind, an denen vom christlichen Standpunkt aus die Spanier Anstoss nehmen müssen: der Polytheismus und der blutige, wenn auch nicht auf die sakrale Darbringung von Kindern spezialisierte Kult der Menschenopfer.

Die grundsätzliche Einstellung der christlichen Spanier zur aztekischen Vielgötterei wird schlagartig deutlich an einer bemerkenswerten sprachlichen Erscheinung, die, auf dem Felde der vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte, ihre bekannteste Parallele hat in der bewussten Dämonisierung vorgefundener Numina, wie sie zum Ausdruck kommt in der semasiologischen Wandlung des awestischen Wortes *daiva* durch die zarathustrische Sprachreform [12]). Wenn auch die Spanier rein philologisch etwas anders vorgehen, so ist ihre Tendenz doch die gleiche. Sie nehmen zwar Abstand von dem Versuch einer Umwertung des aztekischen Wortes für „Gott" — es heisst *teotl* und ist nicht das einzige Wort aztekischer Sprache, zu dem wir ohne irgendwie nachweisbare genetische Zusammenhänge Homonyme aus europäischen Sprachen anführen können [13]). Aber die Spanier führen das gemein-romanische Wort für „Teufel" in der Form *diablo* und mit dem regelmässig gebildeten aztekischen Plural *diablomē* in die aztekische Sprache ein, um mit ihm gerade die einheimischen Götter zu bezeichnen [14]). Der Abscheu, den sie gegenüber dem vielgestaltigen Pantheon der Azteken empfinden, kommt damit deutlich zum Ausdruck.

Allerdings haben die christlichen Spanier — und darin liegt ein von ihnen unverschuldeter tragischer Zug ihrer Begegnung mit der aztekischen Religion — übersehen, dass im Hintergrund des aztekischen Pantheons ein unsichtbarer Schöpfergott steht, und dass dieser Glaube an einen einzigen grossen Herrn des Himmels bessere mis-

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12) Zur zarathustrischen Sprachreform vgl. Hermann GÜNTERT, *Über die ahurischen und daēvischen Ausdrücke im Awesta* (Sitz. Ber. Heidelb. Akad. Wiss. Jg. 1914, 13. Abh.), Heidelberg 1914. Vgl. auch R. PETTAZZONI, *The Formation of Monotheism,* in *Essays on the History of Religions,* Leiden 1954. S. 6-8.

13) Vgl. zu *teotl:* θεός; vgl. ferner etwa: *latl,* „Milch", mit lat. *lac* und den Derivaten in den romanischen Sprachen; *iauh,* „gehen nach", mit ἰέναι

14) Vgl. dagegen SAHAGÚN (bei SELER), S. 2: „Dieser Tezcatlipoca wurde als ein richtiger Gott (*teotl*) angesehen."

sionarische Möglichkeiten im Sinne der Anknüpfung geboten hätte, als die oft gewaltsame und zunächst rein äusserliche Bekehrung zum Christentum [15]). Dieser Gott wird als Menschenbildner und Zeugungsgott verstanden, seine Namenshieroglyphe stellt die mexikanische Königskrone dar, die mit Maiskolben (*cintli*) gefüllt ist, und er heisst Tloque Nahuaque, „der Herr des Mit und Bei", der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft. Offenbar wird er weitgehend identifiziert mit dem männlichen Teil eines himmlischen Elternpaares, dem Gotte Ometecutli, der die gleichen Insignien trägt und den zwei der bedeutendsten mexikanischen Bilderhandschriften, der Codex Vaticanus A und der Codex Borgia, kauernd auf einem Teppich aus Maiskolben darstellen [16]). Sein Name Ometecutli ist mit dem aztekischen Zahlwort für „zwei" — *ome* — gebildet und bedeutet „Zwei Herr" oder, freier übersetzt, „Herr der Zweiheit". Das weist auf die enge, zu der Vorstellung eines androgynen Wesens tendierende Gemeinschaft mit seiner Gemahlin Omeciuatl, der „Frau der Zweiheit". Als Wohnort dieses höchsten Wesens gilt der oberste, 13. Himmel, Omeyocan, der „Ort der Zweiheit". Für viele Vorstellungen der aztekischen Mythologie ist noch heute die von Söderblom bereits in seinem „Werden des Gottesglaubens" [17]) angeregte Untersuchung der Beziehungen zu anderen indianischen Religionen eine Aufgabe zukünftiger Forschung, im vorliegenden Falle des „Herrn und der Herrin der Zweiheit" aber hat Pettazzoni in seinem neuesten Werk über „L' onniscienza di Dio" auf verwandte Vorstellungen bei indianischen Stämmen im Südwesten Nordamerikas verwiesen [18]). Die Azteken selbst sahen sich bei ihrem Glauben an Ometecutli-Omeciuatl als unmittelbare Erben der Tolteken. Das geht aus den Berichten bei Sahagún hervor, wo es im Zusammenhang mit toltekischen Himmelsvorstellungen heisst [19]):

„Dort ist, dort lebt der wahre Gott
samt seiner Gemahlin:

15) Vgl. H. Dietschy, *Vom Charakter des höchsten Gottes der Azteken,* in: Bulletin der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie und Ethnologie 18 (1941-42), S. 23 ff.

16) Vgl. Eduard Seler, *Codex Borgia.* Eine altmexikanische Bilderschrift der Bibliothek der Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, Bd. I, Berlin 1904, S. 79.

17) Nathan Söderblom, *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens,* 2. Aufl., Leipzig 1926, S. 111 Anm. 39.

18) Raffaele Pettazzoni, *L'onniscienza di Dio,* Torino 1955, S. 583; 590.

19) Sahagún (bei Seler), S. 395.

der Himmelsfürst namens Ometecutli
und seine Gemahlin namens Omeciuatl."

Es kann, wie schon angedeutet, nicht einseitig den Spaniern zur Last gelegt werden, dass sie bei ihren ersten Versuchen christlicher Mission nicht die Methode der Akkomodation, sondern die der Polemik wählten, weil das kultlose Bekenntnis zu dem Himmelsgott Ometecutli, offenbar mit anderen religiösen Traditionen der Toltekenzeit, zurückgedrängt war von der im praktischen Leben bedeutenderen und angesichts ihres brutalen Kultus den in Mexiko einmarschierenden Spaniern augenfälliger entgegentretenden Verehrung anderer Götter, von der Cortez, verständlicherweise mit Termini der ihm aus seiner spanischen Heimat geläufigen islamischen Fremdreligion der maurischen Periode, seinem Kaiser berichtet [20]):

„Es gibt in dieser grossen Stadt viele Moscheen oder Götzentempel von sehr schöner Bauart, für ihre verschiedenen Sprengel oder Bezirke ... Unter diesen Moscheen gibt es eine, die die vornehmste ist, deren Grösse und Einzelheiten keine menschliche Zunge zu beschreiben vermag; denn sie ist so gross, dass innerhalb ihres ganz von einer hohen Mauer umzogenen Umkreises sehr gut eine Stadt für 500 Einwohner gebaut werden könnte ... Die ganze Mauerarbeit im Innern der Kapellen, wo die Götzenbilder stehen, ist mit Arabesken, die Decke aber mit Stukkaturarbeit verziert ... Es sind aber diese Brustbilder oder Gestalten der Götzen, an die diese Leute glauben, weit über natürlicher Menschengrösse. Sie werden aus einer gemahlenen und zusammengekneteten Masse aller Sämereien und Gemüse verfertigt, die sie, angefeuchtet mit dem Herzblut menschlicher Schlachtopfer, denen sie lebendig die Brust öffnen und das Herz herausreissen, essen; mit dem herausströmenden Blute mengen sie jenen Teig an und fahren damit fort, bis eine zur Verfertigung so grosser Bildsäulen hinreichende Masse beisammen ist. Wenn sie fertig waren, wurden ihnen noch mehr Herzen dargebracht und in gleicher Weise geopfert, und mit dem Blute wurde ihnen das Gesicht beschmiert. Für jede Sache haben sie ihr eigenes Götzenbild; es wird geweiht nach der Art, wie auch die Heiden des Altertums ihre Götter zu verehren pflegten. So haben sie, um sich Gunst für den Krieg zu erflehen, ein Götzenbild, und für ihren Ackerbau ein anderes, und so haben sie für jegliche Sache,

20) 2. Bericht; Ferdinand Cortez (Ausg. E. Schultze), S. 172; 179 f.

von der sie wollen und wünschen, dass sie gut vonstatten gehe, ihre Götzen, die sie verehren und denen sie dienen."

Es waren in dem auch von Cortez betonten vielgestaltigen Pantheon der Azteken vor allem zwei Götter, die als Herren solcher blutigen Menschenopfer kultisch verehrt wurden [21]). Jährlich erneuerte sich durch das ihn verkörpernde Opfer von Kriegsgefangenen der Gott Tezcatlipoca. Er ist ursprünglich der Hauptgott der Stadt Texcoco und vereinigt, wie viele aus ursprünglichen Stammesgottheiten hervorgegangene aztekische Götter, in sich vielerlei Funktionen. Sein Name setzt sich aus den Wörtern für „Spiegel" — *tezcatl* — und „rauchen" — *poca* — zusammen. Der „rauchende Spiegel" wird auch in den Bilderhandschriften mit diesem Symbol dargestellt: einem roten Spiegel mit dunklem Kern, aus dem entweder Rauchwolken hervorbrechen oder der von einem Feuerkreis umgeben ist [22]). Das Symbol des Spiegels, das überall in der Welt für die Religionsform des Schamanismus typisch ist, verweist auch hier auf einen solchen ursprünglichen Charakter, kennzeichnet den Gott Tezcatlipoca aber auch als allwissend [23]). Bei Sahagún lesen wir über ihn [24]). *teitic tlamati ati*, „er kennt das Innere der Menschen". So wird der Gott zum Herrn von Strafe, Sündenvergebung und Belohnung. Er ist aber auch der Gott der Nacht und des Todes. Zuweilen wird er als „Allmächtiger", als höchster Gott angesprochen. Zu seinen besonderen Funktionen gehört die Schutzherrschaft über das Jungmännerhaus — *telpochcalli* —, das als Schule des Krieges dient. Damit ist Tezcatlipoca, der gelegentlich mit dem frühisraelitischen Jahwe verglichen wurde [25]), auch Gott des Krieges wie der Jagd und wird mit Jagdgöttern anderer Stämme identifiziert.

Wesentlich stärker noch als Tezcatlipoca tritt im mexikanischen Reich der eigentliche Stammesgott der Azteken hervor, der kriegerische Uitzilopochtli. Ihm hat Eduard Seler, der bedeutendste deutsche Amerikanist, im vierten, nachgelassenen Band seiner „Gesammelten

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21) Zu den aztekischen Menschenopfern vgl. K. Th. Preuss, *Der Ursprung der Menschenopfer in Mexiko*, Globus, Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde, 86, 1904, S. 108-119.

22) Seler, *Codex Borgia* I, S. 146 ff.

23) Pettazzoni, *a.a.O.*, S. 596.

24) Sahagún (bei Seler), S. 264.

25) H. Dietschy, *Mensch und Gott bei den mexikanischen Indianern*, *Anthropos* 35 f., 1940 f., S. 336.

Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde" eine auf umfassenden philologischen Untersuchungen beruhende Abhandlung gewidmet [26]). Der Name des Gottes setzt sich aus *uitzitzilin,* dem Worte für „Kolibri", und *opochtli,* „zur linken Hand" zusammen, worunter der Süden, also jene Gegend zu verstehen ist, die für den vom Sonnenaufgang zum Sonnenuntergang sich Bewegenden links liegt. Gelegentlich werden in dem Bemühen, das Ansehen des im Hochtale von Mexiko zunächst unbekannten Gottes zu heben, Eigenschaften des Himmelsgottes Ometecutli auf Uitzilopochtli übertragen. Aber seine hervorstechenden Charakteristika sind die Führerrolle bei den Wanderungen des Stammes und das kriegerische Wesen des Gottes.

Bei den Wanderungen der Azteken tritt die Kolibri-Natur des Gottes, von der sonst nicht viel die Rede ist, hervor. Wenn der Gott bildlich durch ein Gesicht veranschaulicht wird, das aus dem geöffneten Schnabel eines Vogels hervorsieht, so soll damit veranschaulicht werden, dass er als Orakelgott seinem Volke Anweisungen über den Weg der Wanderung erteilt. Auf die Vogelnatur weist möglicherweise auch der Ruf *tini tini,* „lasst uns gehen", mit dem er die Azteken führt.

Es ist durchaus möglich, dass hier in tierischer Gestalt ein einst menschlicher Führer mythologisiert wurde. Darauf weist jedenfalls eine Stelle bei Sahagún [27]):

„Uitzilopochtli war nur ein gewöhnlicher Mensch, ein
Zauberer, ein böses Zeichen, ein Unruhstifter, ein
(schreckhafte) Visionen erzeugender Gaukler. Er schafft
den Krieg, er stellt die Krieger auf, er befehligt die
Krieger. Von ihm wird erzählt, dass er die Türkisschlange,
den Feuerbohrer auf die Menschen werfe."

Neben der ursprünglichen Menschennatur des Gottes hebt dieser Text seine kriegerischen Eigenschaften hervor, wie sie am deutlichsten in seiner Mythe und seinem Kult zum Ausdruck kommen.

Wiederum ist es Sahagún, der die entscheidenden mythologischen Texte bietet [28]):

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26) Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* Bd. 4, S. 157-167: Uitzilopochtli, der sprechende Kolibri.

27) Sahagún (bei Seler), S. 1.

28) *a.a.O.,* S. 253.

„Wie die alten Leute wussten,
(hatte) Uitzilopochtli,
den die Mexikaner sehr verehrten,
der, wie sie erfuhren, hatte seine Herkunft
und seinen Ursprung auf dem Couatepetl (dem „Schlangenberg")."

Dort wird Uitzilopochtli als Sohn der Couatlicue, „der, deren Hüfttuch aus Schlangen besteht", mit Schild und Speer geboren, dort tötet er auch in seinem ersten Kampf seine feindliche Schwester, die Mondgöttin Coiolxauhqui, „die im Gesicht mit Schellen bemalte" [29]):

„(Uitzilopochtli) zerschmettert die Coiolxauhqui.
Darauf schnitt er ihr den Kopf ab,
ihr Kopf blieb dort zurück
an dem Rande des Schlangenberges,
und ihr Leib fiel herunter, zerfiel in verschiedene kleine Stücke.
An gesonderte Stellen fiel ihre Hand, ihr Fuss, ihr Leib."

Mit der im Kampfe getöteten Schwester, die als erste Geopferte gilt, wurde symbolisch das Menschenopfer begründet, das bei dem grossen Feste Uitzilopochtlis, dem *teoqualo*, dem „Gottesessen", seine kultische Repräsentation findet. Als Vertreter des Couatepetl, des „Schlangenberges", gilt dabei das grosse *teocalli*, das „Götterhaus", der grosse Tempel in der Hauptstadt Tenochtitlan. Am Rande seiner oberen Plattform lag, aus hartem Diorit gebildet, der abgeschlagene Kopf der Coiolxauhqui, der, zum deutlichen Zeichen, dass er abgeschlagen ist, auch auf der unteren Seite skulpiert war. Er trug dort ein Relief von Wasserströmen und Feuerschlangen, den Hieroglyphen für *ātl* und *tlachinolli*, für „Wasser" und „Brand", den Symbolen des Krieges.

Den Bericht darüber, wie an jener Stelle der Oberpriester des Uitzilopochtli, der stets den Namen Quetzalcouatl trägt, das Menschenopfer vollzieht, verdanken wir wiederum Sahagún [30]):

„Es tötete ihn Quetzalcouatl,
er tötete ihn mit einem Speer mit Feuersteinspitze,
den steckte er ihm ins Herz hinein.
Er wurde geopfert in Anwesenheit Motecuçomas
und des Hauptpriesters,

29) *a.a.O.*, S. 257.
30) *a.a.O.*, S. 259.

mit dem Uitzilopochtli sprach,
vor dem er erschien,
der ihm Opfergaben brachte,
und (in Anwesenheit) von vier Führern der jungen Mannschaft."

Es gereicht zum traurigen Ruhme der Spanier, selbst ihrerseits das fetzte Fest Uitzilopochtlis veranlasst und zu einem nicht weniger blutigen Ende gebracht zu haben, als es das Ritual der aztekischen Religion erforderte. Ihre missionarischen Tendenzen traten dabei völlig zurück gegenüber der kriegerischen List, sich bei dem Feste der Blüte des aztekischen Adels zu bemächtigen. Nicht ohne Bewegung berichtet der aztekische Gewährsmann des Sahagún, obwohl er ausdrücklich die Abwesenheit des „Kapitäns", des Cortez, betont [31]):

„Und während das nun so vor sich ging,
während man auf das Fest bedacht war,
während man tanzte, sang,
im Reigentanz sang,
der Gesang wie Meereswogen erbrauste,
nachdem es Zeit geworden war
für die Spanier, mit dem Morden zu beginnen,
kamen (die Spanier) heraus, zum Kriege gerüstet.
Sie verschlossen überall die Ausgänge und Eingänge,
die Adlerpforte, am kleinen Palast,
an der Rohrspitze, an der Spiegelschlange.
Und nachdem sie sie verschlossen hatten,
konnte auch an allen den Orten, wo das Volk
in Masse war, niemand mehr hinausgehen.
Und danach treten in den Tempelhof die Mörder ein,
deren Geschäft es ist, zu morden."

Mag man annehmen, dass diese Praxis einer äusserst rücksichtslosen und vor keinem Mittel zurückschreckenden Kriegführung für die Spanier legitimiert war durch den Gedanken, als Vertreter der einzig rechtmässigen christlichen Monarchie Karls V. aufzutreten, so war die Art des Krieges, wie ihn die Azteken zu führen gewohnt waren, in weit stärkerem Masse religiös begründet [32]). Es bestand im alten

31) *a.a.O.*, S. 502 f.
32) Vgl. SOUSTELLE, *a.a.O.*, S. 246 ff.

Mexiko zumindest teilweise die Vorstellung, dass der Krieg überhaupt nur geschaffen sei, um Gefangene zu machen, die bei den grossen Festen den Göttern geopfert wurden, um dadurch den Gang der Welt und insbesondere die Kraft der Sonne zu erhalten [33]). Deshalb bestand der Brauch, zwischen verschiedenen Stämmen Abmachungen über einen geplanten Krieg zu treffen, der grundsätzlich nur dem beiderseitigen Erwerb von Gefangenen diente, nicht aber der Veränderung territorialen Besitzes. Die Azteken verbanden, wenn sie diesen sakralen, heiligen Krieg bezeichnen wollten, die Vokabel für „Krieg" — *iaoiotl* — möglicherweise eine Ableitung von dem Verb *iauh*, „gehen nach" — mit einem Wort, das für sie Sinnbild des Schönen und des Genusses schlechthin war, mit *xōchitl*, der „Blume". Der Begriff *xochiiaoiotl* bezeichnet mithin den „Blumenkrieg"; und diese religiös gebundene Vorstellung von Sinn und Zweck des Kriegführens mag in ihrer der europäischen so fremden Konzeption die Mexikaner anfangs gehindert haben, sich völlig den Methoden der Eroberer anzupassen.

Stehen somit unterschiedliche religiöse Bedingungen im Hintergrund der machtpolitischen Auseinandersetzung Spaniens mit Mexiko, so ist die Begegnung der aztekischen Religion und des Christentums in besonderer Weise gekennzeichnet durch ein tragisches Missverständnis, das freilich nun nicht den Abscheu der Christen vor den blutigen Kulten der Azteken und vor den diese fordernden Göttern betrifft, sondern, von aztekischer Seite, die Anwendung des Glaubens an eine alte überlieferte Prophetie auf die Spanier. Hieraus ist die gerade in der entscheidenden Anfangsphase der Eroberung auffällig schwankende Haltung der Azteken zu begreifen, die Tragödie ihres später eingesehenen Irrtums, in deren Mittelpunkt die wohl schwache, aber den religiösen Traditionen der Azteken gläubig verbundene Gestalt Motecuçomas II. steht. Bei Sahagún wird berichtet, was der Kaiser tut, als er von der Landung der Spanier erfährt [34]):

„Als der es hörte, sendete er sofort Boten ab,
indem er gewissermassen so dachte:
Es ist unser Fürst Quetzalcouatl, der gekommen ist.
Denn so war sein Wille gewesen,

33) Der Sonnengott Tonatiuh, dem ebenfalls Menschenopfer dargebracht wurden, erscheint eng mit Tezcatlipoca und Uitzilopochtli verbunden, vgl. Franz Hampl, *a.a.O.*, S. 756; Seler, *Codex Borgia* I, S. 147.

34) Sahagún (bei Seler), S. 460.

dass er wiederkommen wird, dass er herkommt,
seinen Thron wieder einnehmen wird,
weil er dorthin (nach Osten) gegangen war, als er fortzog."

Die gleiche Konzeption tritt bei der Begrüssungsrede Motecuçomas anlässlich des ersten Empfangs des Cortez zutage [35]::

„Darauf richtet sich (Motecuçoma) auf,
stellt sich ihm (dem Cortez) gegenüber auf,
neigt sich vor ihm zur Erde,
geht ganz dicht an ihn heran,
stellt sich fest vor ihn hin,
hält ihm die folgende Rede:
„O unser Herr! Mit Mühsal, mit Ermüdung hast du es erlangt,
dass du (hier) in dem Lande angekommen bist,
dass du nahe an deine Stadt Mexiko herangekommen bist,
dass du auf deiner Matte, deinem Stuhle zu sitzen gekommen bist,
den ich nur eine kleine Weile für dich gehütet habe.
Denn hingegangen sind deine Untertanen:
die Könige Itzcouatl, der alte Motecuçoma, Axaiacatl, Tiçocic, Auizotl,
die nur eine kleine Weile (den Stuhl) für dich gehütet haben,
die Stadt Mexiko beherrscht haben,
unter deren Schutz sich dein Volk hier gestellt hat...
Möchte doch einer von ihnen sehen, staunend sehen,
was jetzt über mich gekommen ist,
was ich nunmehr sehe,
(ich) der Hinterbliebene unserer Herren;
denn ich träume nicht,
ich fahre nicht aus dem Schlafe auf,
ich sehe es nicht im Traume,
ich träume es nicht,
dass ich dich gesehen,
dir ins Antlitz geschaut habe.
Denn ich war bekümmert fünf, zehn (eine ganze Reihe von Tagen),
wo ich hinschaute nach dem unbekannten Lande,
aus dem du gekommen bist,

35) *a.a.O.*, S. 491 f.

aus den Wolken heraus, aus den Nebeln heraus.
Denn das haben uns die Könige (meine Vorfahren) gesagt,
dass du kommen wirst, deine Stadt zu besuchen,
dass du dich auf deine Matte, deinen Stuhl setzen wirst,
dass du wiederkommen wirst.
Und jetzt ist es wahr geworden,
du bist zurückgekehrt.
Mit Mühsal, mit Ermüdung hast du es erreicht.
Sei nun angelangt im Lande,
ruhe dich aus, besuche deinen Palast,
ruhe deinen Leib aus,
unsere Herren seien angelangt im Lande (in ihrer Heimat)."

Motecuçoma erscheint mit diesen Begrüssungsworten als orthodoxer Vertreter eines Glaubens, der bereits im Krönungszeremoniell zum Ausdruck kommt, wenn an den neuen Herrscher der Azteken bei seiner Inthronisation die Worte zu richten sind:

„Seit heute, o Herr, sitzest du auf dem Throne, den
Quetzalcouatl errichtete. In seinem Namen kam Uitzilopochtli,
den Thron einzunehmen, und in dessen Namen war Acamapichtli
der erste König."

Das Königtum der Azteken wird also von Quetzalcouatl hergeleitet, der es, über den Stammesgott Uitzilopochtli, dem ersten aztekischen Herrscher Mexikos, dem Acamapichtli, übergab. Auf Quetzalcouatl wird es nach dem Glauben der Azteken aber auch einst wieder zurückfallen, und nur als seine Stellvertreter fühlen sich die Herrscher Mexikos.

Mit Quetzalcouatl [36]) ist die eigenartigste Vorstellung der mexikanischen Mythologie genannt, jene Gestalt, die der Begegnung mit dem Christentum Züge verleiht, die singulär sind für die christliche Missionsgeschichte wie überhaupt für die Geschichte fremdreligiöser Auseinandersetzungen. Aztekische Überlieferungen berichten von ihm [37]):

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36) -Vgl. Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde,* 5. Bd., Berlin 1915, S. 178-196: Die Sage von Quetzalcouatl und den Tolteken in den in neuerer Zeit bekannt gewordenen Quellen.

37) Sahagún (bei Seler), S. 268.

„Quetzalcouatl hielt man gleichsam für einen Gott,
er wurde für einen Gott gehalten, als Gott angebetet,
und zwar schon vor alter Zeit, in Tollan."

Als später vergöttlichter Kulturheros der Tolteken erscheint Quetzalcouatl [38]):

„Mit Quetzalcouatl begann, von ihm ging aus
das gesamte Kunsthandwerk, das Sichverstehen darauf."

Quetzalcouatl brachte den Tolteken ihre Kultur, er gab ihnen Gesetze, er begründete ihr Priestertum [39]):

„Ihm ahmten die Räucherpriester und die (anderen) Priester nach,
das Leben dieses Quetzalcouatl, das nahmen die Priester als ihre Lebensweise an,
das Gesetz von Tula, das allgemein hier in Mexiko befolgt wurde."

Da Quetzalcouatl von abschreckender Hässlichkeit war — sein Gesicht wird als *tetlahuipol*, als „Klotz", beschrieben, legte er ein Gewand aus grünen Quetzalli-Federn an und die Maske einer Schlange — *couatl* —, jenes Tieres, dass das weitverbreitetste Symbol aller wohltätigen Gottheiten war [40]).

Quetzalcouatl ist ein Feind der grausamen Menschenopfer und fällt somit völlig aus dem Rahmen der späteren religiösen Bräuche der Mexikaner. Vor allem gilt als sein Antagonist der Gott Tezcatlipoca. Nach einer Version ist es dieser Gott, nach einer anderen sind es die *tlatlacateculō*, die Zauberer und Dämonen, die Quetzalcouatl zu dem Entschluss bringen, das Land Tula zu verlassen [41]):

„Und danach, da Quetzalcouatl (darüber) verwirrt und bekümmert war,
denkt er daran, dass er gehen,
dass er seine Stadt Tula verlassen soll.
Darauf macht er sich bereit.
Man sagt, dass er ganz sein goldenes und rotes Muschelhaus verbrannte
und den anderen Toltekenschatz.

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38) *a.a.O.*, S. 269.
39) *a.a.O.*, S. 271.
40) Konrad Haebler, *Die Religion des mittleren Amerika*, Münster i. W. 1899, S. 36.
41) Sahagún (bei Seler), S. 286 f.

Wunder-Herrlichkeiten, die Kostbarkeiten vergrub und verbarg er alle
an schwer zugänglichen Orten,
entweder im Innern der Berge oder in den Schluchten."

Sein Weg führt ihn bis zum Ostmeer [42]):

„Und nachdem er an dem Ufer (des Meeres) angekommen war,
macht er die Schlangenbahre.
Nachdem man sie fertiggestellt,
setzt er sich darauf,
und das galt nun gleichsam als sein Schiff.
Darauf ging er, wurde von dem Wasser fortgeführt,
und niemand weiss mehr, wie er nach Tlapallan gelangte."

Der Weg Quetzalcouatls nach dem Osten wird ebenso auf geschichtlichen Erinnerungen beruhen wie jene Überlieferungen, die besagen, dass er auf dieser Reise auch dem Volke der Maya Kultur und Religion gebracht habe. Denn der Mythos der Maya kennt eine dem aztekischen Quetzalcouatl durchaus analoge Vorstellung in dem Gotte Kukulkan — auch sein Name bedeutet „Federschlange" —, der als Gesetzgeber, Begründer des Kalenders und der Wissenschaft, Gott der Medizin und der Zauberei galt [43]). Die Parallelen lassen sich noch weiter verfolgen. Im Bereich der Azteken wie der Maya werden beide Götter gelegentlich als Weltenschöpfer verehrt, sie geben der Erde Fruchtbarkeit und werden deshalb zuweilen auch beide mit dem Wasser in Verbindung gebracht.

Für die Begegnung des Christentums mit der aztekischen Religion ist besonders dieser Weg nach Osten, die geheimnisvolle Reise Quetzalcouatls nach Tlillan Tlapallan, dem „Land der schwarzen und roten Farbe", bedeutsam gewesen. Dass der Gott von dort zurückkehren werde, war allgemeiner Glaube. Drei Faktoren aber führten dazu, die Conquistadoren zunächst als wiederkehrende Götter anzusehen: ihr für die Azteken fremdes Aussehen, das auch Quetzalcouatl gehabt haben sollte, ihre Ankunft aus dem Osten und vor allem eine chronologische Übereinstimmung mit den alten Weissagungen. Die Azteken bildeten ihre Daten durch Kombination von 20 Zeichen mit der Zahlenreihe 1 bis 13 und begannen den Kalender jeweils neu mit dem Jahre

42) *a.a.O.*, S. 292.
43) Franz Hampl, *a.a.O.*, S. 771 f.; Haebler, *a.a.O.*, S. 51.

ce acatl, „eins Rohr" [44]). Es traf sich nun, dass in einem für die Rückkehr Quetzalcouatls vorausgesagten Jahre *ce acatl* die Conquistadoren den Boden Mexikos betraten.

Auch die Reaktion der Spanier auf diese für sie so äusserst günstigen Anschauungen der Azteken ist ein religionsgeschichtliches Kuriosum. Cortez vermeidet zwar, was von seinem christlichen Standpunkt aus nicht gut anders möglich war, die Vorstellungen heidnischer Mythologie zu bestätigen. Aber charakteristisch ist, dass er ebenso sorgfältig vermeidet, diese Vorstellungen zu zerstören, wenn er dem Motecuçoma gegenüber durchaus als rechtmässiger Herr auftritt und auf dessen Begrüssungsrede antwortet [45]):

„Motecuçoma soll sich trösten, sich nicht fürchten,
denn wir lieben ihn sehr,
denn jetzt ist unser Herz zufrieden,
da wir ihn kennen, ihn hören,
denn die ganze Zeit wünschen wir sehr, ihn zu sehen,
ihm ins Angesicht zu schauen.
Und jetzt, da wir ihn gesehen haben,
da wir in sein Haus, nach Mexiko gekommen sind,
kann er in Ruhe unser Wort hören."

Auch die der kriegerischen Conquista folgende Missionierung des Landes hat sich gehütet, die Gestalt Quetzalcouatls völlig abzulehnen. Die Vertreter christlicher Mönchsorden, die ins Land kamen, benutzten vielmehr im Gegenteil Quetzalcouatl, den sie christlich deuteten, zur Rechtfertigung der Conquista. Sie sahen in ihm, was im Zusammenhang mit dem damals geographisch noch ungeklärten Begriff „Indien" zu verstehen war, den Apostel Thomas, der Mexiko besucht und seine Einwohner bekehrt habe. Die christliche Conquista verstand sich somit als das Bemühen, die später ins Heidentum zurückgefallenen Azteken erneut zum rechten Glauben zu führen.

Aber nicht nur durch solche, auch auf den Gebieten profanpolitischen und militärischen Erfolges wirksame Missverständnisse ist die

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44) Schematische Darstellung der Grundbestandteile des mexikanischen Kalenders im Anhang zu: Walter LEHMANN, *Aus den Pyramidenstädten in Alt-Mexiko,* Berlin 1933; vgl. ferner: Leonhard SCHULTZE JENA, *Wahrsagerei, Himmelskunde und Kalender der alten Azteken* (Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas, Bd. IV), Stuttgart 1950.

45) SAHAGÚN (bei SELER), S. 493.

Begegnung des Christentums mit der aztekischen Religion gekennzeichnet. Es gereicht vielmehr zur Ehre des Cortez, bereits seinerseits in seinem Briefe vom 15. Oktober 1524 an Kaiser Karl V. die Bitte um Übersendung wirklicher Geistlicher und Missionare ausgesprochen zu haben, die dann beantwortet wurde mit der Einreise von Klerikern des Franziskaner- und Dominikanerordens, unter denen der Dominikaner Las Casas mit seinem heldenhaften Eintreten für die Rechte der Indianer eine für immer ruhmvolle Rolle gespielt hat. Cortez hatte an seinen Kaiser geschrieben [46]):

„Jedesmal, wenn ich Ew. geheiligten Majestät schrieb, habe ich auch der Neigung erwähnt, die bei einigen Eingeborenen dieser Lande besteht, sich zu unserem heiligen katholischen Glauben zu bekehren und Christen zu werden. Auch habe ich Ew. kaiserliche Majestät bereits bitten lassen, die Herübersendung geistlicher Personen von gutem und exemplarischen Lebenswandel anzubefehlen. Weil aber bis jetzt nur sehr wenige gekommen sind oder so gut wie gar keine, sie aber dennoch ganz gewiss den grössten Nutzen stiften würden, so bringe ich es wiederum Ew. Hoheit in Erinnerung und bitte, die deshalb nötigen Befehle in aller Kürze zu erlassen, weil dadurch unserem Herrn und Heilande grosser Dienst geschehen und weil dadurch der Wunsch erfüllt werden wird, den Ew. Hoheit in dieser Beziehung als der katholische hegen muss ... Die meines Erachtens in diesem Falle zu beobachtende Verfahrensweise ist, dass Ew. geheiligte Majestät befehle, viele Priester, wie bereits gesagt, hierher zu senden, und zwar solche, die für das Ziel der Bekehrung dieser Heiden feuereifrig sind. Dieselben müssten hier provinzenweise in geistlichen Häusern und Klöstern versammelt werden, und zwar an den Orten, wo es uns hier angemessen schiene."

Mit den missionarischen Intentionen der Conquista ist die Begegnung des Christentums mit der aztekischen Religion nicht zum Ende geführt worden. Sie dauert vielmehr weiterhin an. Spengler hat in seinen „Jahren der Entscheidung" schlagartig die gegenwärtige Situation gekennzeichnet, wenn er schrieb [47]): „In der Stadt Mexiko steht eine Statue des letzten Aztekenkaisers Guatemozin. Niemand würde es wagen, für Ferdinand Cortez dasselbe zu tun." Das ist freilich eine politische Äusserung, aber sie offenbart die tieferliegenden geistigen

46) Ferdinand Cortez (Ausg. von E. Schultze), S. 633 f.
47) Oswald Spengler, *Jahre der Entscheidung*, München 1933, S. 153, Anm. 2.

Hintergründe. Es ist bezeichnend, dass die Mexikaner, die sich heute gern „la nación azteca" nennen, in ihrer modernen Geschichtsschreibung in zunehmendem Masse der Frage nachgehen, ob die Ankunft der Spanier ein Segen oder eine Katastrophe war. Auch das Interesse ist aufschlussreich, dass diese amerikanischste der amerikanischen Nationen der archäologischen Forschung widmet und das weite Kreise erfasste, als man vor einigen Jahren glaubte, die Gebeine des Cuauhtemoctzin gefunden zu haben [48]). Der Gedanke, die Fusion des Indianertums mit dem Spaniertum zu lösen, steht bei solchen Erscheinungen im Hintergrund. Auf künstlerischem Gebiete ist vor allem die Schule des Malers Diego Rivera an der Einführung aztekischer Formen und Motive interessiert. Ein Bekenntnis zur vor-spanischen Vergangenheit stellt auch die moderne Baukunst dar. Man braucht sich nur das Bild der im aztekischen Stil geschmückten Fassade der Universitätsbibliothek von Mexiko City vor Augen zu halten, um die bewusste Anknüpfung an das indianische Erbe zu erkennen.

Das gleiche Bauwerk lässt nun aber auch die im Hintergrund solcher Erscheinungen stehenden religiösen Ideen zutage treten. An der Stirnseite der aus schwarzer Lava erbauten Terrasse der Universitätsbibliothek erkennen wir das Relief einer aztekischen Schlangengottheit. Die alten Götter treten im modernen Mexiko wieder hervor.

Als einst die Spanier im Lande ihre christlichen Kathedralen erbauten, errichteten sie sie auf den Pyramiden der Azteken [49]). Mit einer überall in der Missionsgeschichte zu beobachtenden Praxis überhöhten sie die heidnische Kultstätte mit dem sichtbaren Zeichen der siegreichen christlichen Religion. Aber sie knüpften zugleich an an die sakrale Mächtigkeit der vorgefundenen heidnischen Stätte. Dass im Zusammenhang mit nationalen Bewegungen dieser religiöse Untergrund wieder beschworen werden könne, war damit nicht ausgeschlossen. Somit zeigt sich, dass die Begegnung des Christentums mit der aztekischen Religion eine Erscheinung darstellt, die die Epoche der Conquista überdauert und deren historische Klärung zugleich ein aktuelles religionswissenschaftliches Anliegen darstellt.

48) Vgl. „Die Zeit" vom 12. Aug. 1954.
49) Vgl. u.a. W. LEHMANN, *Aus den Pyramidenstädten in Alt-Mexiko,* S. 89 f.

BULLETIN

DR. PAUL CARUS MEMORIAL SYMPOSIUM ON "MODERN TRENDS IN WORLD RELIGIONS"

Dr. Paul Carus (1852-1919) was one of the pioneers in the promotion of Eastern Religions and Philosophies. Himself a rare combination of religious insights, philosophic inquisitiveness and linguistic ability, Dr. Carus published numerous books and pamphlets on Buddhism, Taoism and related subjects, in addition to editing the Monist and the Open Court journals. He took an active part in the World Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893. It is interesting to note that Dr. D. T. Suzuki worked with Dr. Carus from 1897 to 1908 at La Salla, Illinois.

Therefore, it was fitting that Dr. Suzuki was present at the first Dr. Paul Carus Memorial Symposium on "Modern Trends in the World Religions," September 9-12, 1957. The Symposium was held at the home of Dr. Edward (son of Paul Carus) and Mrs. Carus, Twin Oak Road, Peru, Illinois, and sponsored by the Edward C. Hegeler Trust Fund, with Dr. Joseph M. Kitagawa of the Department of the History of Religions of the Uninversity of Chicago as Program Advisor. The program of the symposium was as follows:

September 9:

2:30 p.m. "Modern Trends in Islam" by Dr. Muhsin Mahdi, College of Law, Baghdad.

8:00 p.m. "Religious Experience beyond Religions" by Dr. Karlfried Graf Duerckheim, Todtsmoos, Germany.

September 10:

9:30 a.m. "Modern Trends in Judaism" by Dr. Ellis Rivkin, Hebrew Union College, Ohio.

2:30 p.m. "Modern Trends in Christianity" by Dr. Winston King, Grinnell College, Iowa.

September 11:

9.30 a.m. "Modern Trends in Chinese Philosophy and Religion" by Dr. Wing-tsit Chan, Dartmouth University, New Hampshire.

8:00 p.m. "Buddhist Art" by Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer, University Chicago.

September 12:

9:30 a.m. "Modern Trends in Theravada Buddhism" by Dr. Robert L. Slater McGill University, Canada.

2:30 p.m. "Zen Buddhism" by Dr. D. T. Suzuki, Columbia University, New York.

The presentation of papers was followed by lively discussions. Unfortunately, Dr. Amiya Chakravarty of Boston University, who was scheduled to read a paper on "Modern Trends in Hinduism," was unavoidably detained in Europe and could not attend the symposium. However, his paper will be published with the others in the proceedings of the symposium, which will be edited by Professor Kitagawa. Others who participated in the symposium were: Professors Nabia Abbott (University of Chicago), Charles J. Adams (McGill University, Montreal), Edwin A. Burtt (Cornell University, New York), Schuyler Cammann (University of Pennsylvania), Max H. Fisch (University of Illinois), D. S. Gottschalk (University of Illinois), Marshall G. S. Hodgson (University of Chicago), Ichiro Hori (Tahoku University, Japan; visiting professor, 1957-58, University of Chicago), Y. P. Mei (State University of Iowa), John B. Noss (Franklin and Marshall College, Pennsylvania), Edmund Perry (Northwestern University), Floyd H. Ross (Southern California School of Theology), Martin Sprengling (University of Chicago, Emeritus).

An important by-product of the symposium was the spontaneous formation of a provisional association of teachers of world religions in North America. The following were asked to serve on an organization committee: Dr. Charles J. Adams for Canada, Joseph M. Kitagawa, Kenneth W. Morgan (Colgate University, New York) for the East Coast, Edmund Perry for the Midwest, and Floyd H. Ross for the West Coast. This organization will seek affiliation with the International Association for the Study of the History of Religions, through the American Council of Learned Societies.

COMMUNICATIONS

On the 18th of October a number of the members of the Executive Board of the IAHR assembled in Amsterdam and settled a series of organisational problems which will be reported upon in this issue of Numen.

Next Congress. At the congress in Rome both Strassburg and Marburg offered hospitality for the next congress. After many deliberations it was decided to accept the offer of Marburg. This choice was mainly prompted by the consideration that Strassburg has already acted several times as hostess for international conferences, so that a congress in Strassburg might be postponed until 1965. The congress in Marburg will probably take place in the second half of September or at the beginning of October 1960. The main subject will be: Origins and Echatology (Origines et eschatologie, Ursprung und Ende). The usual number of ten or eleven sections will be reduced to four, namely: 1) Religions of Illiterate Peoples, 2) Religions of Antiquity, 3) World Religions, 4) General Questions (Methodology, Phenomenology, Psychology and Sociology of Religion).

Congress in Tokyo. It is expected that Unesco will grant a subsidy to the Symposion on the Relation between East and West, to be held within the framework of the Tokyo Congress (Aug. 28th to Sept. 8th). This subvention would enable the IAHR to send a delegation to this Symposion (and also to the Congress) by covering part of the travelling expenses. As the Japanese organizing committee, under Professor Kishimoto, has already sent out the first circular letter containing the necessary information, I may confine myself to stressing one point: it should be kept in mind that, whereas the Congress is of a purely scientific nature, the Symposion will be devoted to discussing the religious aspects of the present relation between East and West, viewed in the light of the history of the past century.

Numen. Two measures have been taken to alleviate the task of the editor-in-chief, Professor Pettazzoni, and to promote the distribution of this review in wider circles, viz. 1) I have been asked to appoint a Dutch editorial committee, and 2) the member groups are requested to appoint a correspondent whose task it will be to invite articles for Numen from the members of his group and to give advice on articles submitted to the editorial committee.

Secretariat. As the work of the General Secretary is continuously expanding it has been decided to appoint Professor Dr. Th. P. van Baaren, professor in the History of Religions in Groningen, as Second Secretary. His special task will be the preparation of the congress of 1960.

C. J. Bleeker
General Secretary IAHR

ROSE UND NACHTIGALL

VON

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

Ankara

Unmöglich ist immer die Rose,
unbegreiflich die Nachtigall.

Gül-bülbül-Poesie, Poesie, die immer wieder unermüdlich das Thema der Liebe der Nachtigall (*bülbül*) zur Rose (*gül*) aufnimmt und scheinbar nur wenig variiert — so hat man oft mit einem verächtlichen Beiklang die klassische persisch-türkische Dichtung bezeichnet, um ihre Unfruchtbarkeit, ihre Beziehungslosigkeit zur wirklichen Welt aufzudecken [1]). Das hat schon Joseph von HAMMER-PURGSTALL angedeutet, wenn er in seiner Arabischen Literaturgeschichte (S. 11) schreibt: „Der Perser erstickt die Stimme der Natur, indem er den Mund mit Perlen oder Rosenblättern vollnimmt".

Ist aber dieses tausend- und abertausendfach wiederholte Motiv wirklich nichts als ein reizendes, vielleicht sogar nur unter dem Einfluss der wohlklingenden Reimwörter *gül-bülbül* so stark ausgearbeitetes Bild? Nur eine Redewendung, die dem orientalischen Dichter die

1) *gul,* türk. Aussprache *gül,* und *bulbul,* türk. Aussprache *bülbül,* sind natürlich ein unerschöpfliches Gebiet. Die Beispiele zu diesem Thema liessen sich ohne Schwierigkeiten um ein Vielfaches vermehren. Doch kam es darauf, an einigen typischen Versen die verschiedenen Aspekte des Motivs zu zeigen, ohne dabei Vollständigkeit anstreben zu wollen oder zu können.

Die wichtigsten Quellen sind, in ihren Abkürzungen:

M — Methnevi-i maᶜnavī des Dschelaladdin Rumi, in der Ausgabe R. A. Nicholsons, Gibb Memorial Series, 1925-1933

DST — Divān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī, Ausgewählte Gedichte aus dem ... Auswahl von R. A. Nicholson, 1898. — Dazu GST, Ghazeliyat-i Shams-i Tabrizi, ed. Humayi und Daşti, Tahran 1335 ş. (1955)

K — Prof. Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, Eski şairlerimiz, Divan Edebiyati Antolojisi, 1931

G — H.O.R. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, 6 Bd., 1901

Yunus Emre Divanı, ed. Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı, 1943

Fuzuli Divanı, ed. Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı, 1948.

Der Divan des Hafis, ed. V. von Rosenzweig-Schwannau (dazu Ausgaben von Chalchali und Brockhaus).

Möglichkeit gab, in immer neu abgewandelten Wortspielen die hundertblättrige Rose der tausendfach schmetternden Nachtigall gegenüberzustellen (*häzār* bedeutet sowohl „Nachtigall" als auch „tausend") [2]? Wären die zahlreichen epischen und lyrischen Gedichte, welche in der klassischen persisch-türkischen Dichtung die Liebe des nachts klagenden Vogels zu seiner Rose besingen (Kara Fazli, Behayi usw.) nur poetische Spielereien? Mir scheint, dass ein solches Motiv dem Herzen der Dichter und ihrer Leser nicht so nahe hätte stehen können, wenn sich hier nicht uralte religiöse Empfindungen kristallisiert hätten.

Vogelmotiv und Pflanzenmotiv — sie beide kommen von primitiven Religionsstufen an vor.

Dem Seelenvogel begegnen wir nicht nur in vielen primitiven Religionen, sondern, wie bekannt, vor allem im ägyptischen Vorstellungskreis; die Flügel der Seele werden wie von PLATON (Phaed. 246c) und PLOTIN (Enn II 9, 3; 18, 4, 12) so auch von zahlreichen anderen Mystikern des hellenistischen und vor allem christlichen Raumes besungen — wird doch auch das Prinzip des Heiligen Geistes unter der Gestalt der Taube symbolisiert.

Der Islam (wie auch das Judentum) kennt das Motiv des Seelenvogels ebenfalls. GOLDZIHER hat vor mehr als 50 Jahren den „Seelenvogel im islamischen Volksglauben" an Hand zahlreicher Beispiele behandelt [3]: so den Glauben, dass die Seelen der Frommen im Paradies im Leibe von (grünen) Vögeln die Auferstehung erwarten; dass man in der Nähe des Grabes oft einen Vogel oder eine Schar von Vögeln trifft oder dass ein Heiliger in Gestalt eines Vogels einem Armen zu Hilfe kommt [4]. Auch die koranische Vorstellung (Sure 17/14), dass jedem Menschen ein Vogel an seinem Nacken festgebunden ist, der über seine Taten Bericht erstattet, rechnet GOLDZIHER hierher. Man

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2) Vgl. HAFIS I 360, BAKI K 311. Neben *bülbül* und *häzār* wird auch, wenn es das Versmass erfordert, das arabische *'andalīb* gebraucht. — HAFIS (I 54) verwendet einmal ein Wortspiel zwischen *gül* und *gülbāng*, dem lauten Ruf der Nachtigall, einem Wort, das später ganz den Sinn des Schlachtrufes „Allah! Allah!" angenommen hat.

3) *Globus* 83/1903; vgl. J. VON NEGELEIN, *Globus* 79/1901 „Seele als Vogel"; G. WEICKERT, *Der Seelenvogel* 1902; VAN DER LEEUW, *Phänomenologie der Religion* 272, 283; ORBE, *Flügel der Seele.*

4) Vgl. auch die entsprechenden Legenden z.B. in der *Sīrat Ibn al-Chafīf*, ed. A. SCHIMMEL, 1955. Das Motiv kommt häufig in Heiligenlegenden vor.

erzählt, dass mancher Heilige imstande war, diese Wesen in ihren verschiedenen Haltungen auf den Schultern und Köpfen seiner Mitmenschen zu erkennen [5]). Nicht zu vergessen sei, dass ein berühmtes Hadith sagt, dass Furcht und Hoffnung die beiden Flügel sind, mit denen sich der Mensch Gott nahe — d.h. also, dass seine Seele gleichmässig von Gottesfurcht und Hoffnung auf göttliche Barmherzigkeit beschwingt sein solle, um auf dem „geraden Weg" Gott näher kommen zu können.

Doch so häufig das Seelenvogelmotiv im Volksglauben (man sagt noch heute in Anatolien von einem Verstorbenen *can kuşu uçtu,* sein Seelenvogel flog davon) und in Heiligenlegenden vorkommen mag, seinen eigentlichen Ausdruck findet es in der — vorwiegend mystisch gefärbten—Dichtung. Wenn der zeitgenössische türkische Dichter BEDRI RAHMI EYÜBOGLU sagt „Der Vogel Seele kam und fiel in den Körper"..., oder sein Altersgenosse CAHIT SITKI TARANCI:

Er starb, doch hörte man kein Windeswehen,
kein Vogel schwang sich aus dem Fenster fort...

so sind diese Künstler sich wohl kaum bewusst, dass sie hier in einer fast tausendjährigen dichterischen Tradition stehen. Gerade die türkische religiöse Volksdichtung, am schönsten und tiefsten vertreten durch ihren ersten Sänger YUNUS EMRE (st. um 1307), ist überreich an Beispielen hierfür:

Wir haben uns beflügelt, sind Vögel geworden — Lob sei Gott,

so grüsst Yunus (Div. 98) die Befreiung der Seele von irdischen Banden. Denn (ebd. 582):

Am Ende muss der königliche Vogel die Schwingen schlagen und fliegen.

Der Mystiker, der zur Vereinigung gelangt ist, gleicht dem aus dem Käfig befreiten Vogel (ebd. 125):

Die Derwische sind fliegende Vögel, berauscht beim Festmahl Gottes.

Denn die Gottesliebe ist es, welche der Seele Flügel verleiht: vorher kann sie nicht fliegen [6]).

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5) Vgl. ebd. die Erzählung S. 250.

6) YUNUS Div. 490; vgl. 217, 124, 514, 87, 201, 52 u.a. Das Motiv liesse sich durch die gesamte türkische Poesie hindurch aufzeigen, bes. bei FUZULI und GALIB. Vgl. beispielsweise FUZULI, Divan CXCV: „Es ist der Tag der Trennung. Freue dich, o Seelenvogel, denn heute werde ich dich bestimmt von diesem Käfig befreien."

Das ist die Liebe, himmelwärts zu fliegen [7]),

hat auch MEVLĀNĀ DSCHELĀLEDDĪN RŪMĪ in immer erneuten Versen gesungen, und YUNUS und zahllose andere haben den Gedanken aufgenommen. Es ist wohl kein Zufall, das RŪZBIHĀN BAQLĪ (st. 1209), dem die Geschichte der islamischen Mystik so viele wertvolle Nachrichten über den Grössten des klassischen *taṣavvuf*, AL-ḤALLĀDSCH (hingerichtet 922), verdankt, eben diesen Mystiker als „König der Vögel der Liebe" bezeichnet [8]), um so seine Freiheit von den Fesseln des Irdischen anzudeuten — eine Bezeichnung, an die wir wiederum erinnert werden in der prachtvollen Schilderung des Jupiterhimmels und des dort in ewiger Liebe schwebenden ḤALLĀDSCH im *Dschāvīdnāme* Sir Muhammad IQBALS (st. 1938) [9]).

Von YUNUS EMRE an ist das Motiv des Seelenvogels in der türkischen Dichtung — sei sie volkstümlich, sei sie Kunstpoesie — in mannigfacher Form zu finden: ob nun HALILI singt:

Jeden Morgen liess ich den Vogel der Seele in der Trennung von dir klagen [10]),

oder ob FUZULI, der bedeutendste klassische Dichter im türkischen Sprachgebiet, neben zahlreichen anderen Verwendungen des gleichen Motivs, eines seiner berühmtesten Ghaselen mit den Worten beginnen lässt:

Der Herzensvogel baute sich ein Nest in deinem wirren Haar [11]).

Diese Dichter haben das Vogelmotiv zweifellos aus der klassischen Überlieferung des *taṣavvuf* übernommen, die ihren typischsten und bedeutendsten Ausdruck gefunden hat in FARĪDADDĪN ATṬĀR's *Maniq aṭ ṭair*, den *Vogelgesprächen*. Dieses grosse mystische Epos, geschrieben um 1133, das unter der Gestalt des Vogelzuges die Wanderung der menschlichen Seele zur göttlichen Einheit zeigt, ist ein Schatzhaus für die Symbolsprache von Generationen islamischer mystischer Dichter

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7) DST XXXV.

8) MASSIGNON, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj, martyre mystique de l'Islam*, S. 375.

9) SIR MUHAMMAD IKBAL, *Buch der Ewigkeit*, deutsch von A. Schimmel, S. 117.

10) K 117.

11) FUZULI, Divan XCVI. Das Motiv ist gleichzeitig eine raffinierte Umkehrung eines zweiten Hauptthemas der persisch-türkischen Dichtung, der Geschichte von Madschnūn und Laila — Madschnūn ist in seiner Sehnsucht nach der Geliebten so ausser sich geraten und verwildert, dass die Vögel Nester in seinem wirren Haar bauen.

geworden [12]). Wir müssen hierbei daran erinnern, dass die „Sprache der Vögel" zu kennen, nach islamischer Überlieferung das Vorrecht König Salomos war: in der mystischen Umdeutung wird dann „Salomo" für den Scheich, den mystischen Leiter, eingesetzt, welcher die Sprache der ihm nahenden Seelen versteht; für den mystischen Geliebten, der jedem Sehnsüchtigen und Liebenden in seiner Sprache Antwort gibt. Von ʿAṭṭār geht eine gerade Linie zu Mevlānā Rūmī, dessen grosses *Methnevi* ebenso wie seine mystische Lyrik das Vogelmotiv in den verschiedensten Abwandlungen zeigt [13]). Wichtig ist hierbei auch die Differenzierung der Typen der Seelenvögel: der Mensch kann als Ente symbolisiert werden, da er halb von der Erde, halb aus dem Meer der Seele stammt [14]); ein bei Rūmī besonders beliebtes Bild ist das des Falken, der, zunächst auf dem Arm seines Fürsten sitzend, sich dann in weltliche Abenteuer stürzt, bis er, vom Ton der Falkentrommel zurückgerufen, endlich sein Haupt müde und zärtlich am Arm des Herrn reibt — „Der Falke hat seinen Namen (bāz) daher, weil er zum Herrn zurück (bāz) kommt", sagt Mevlana mit einem gewagten Wortspiel [15]).

Und unter den Verkörperungen der Seele ist nun auch die Nachtigall, immer klagend, immer voll Sehnsucht — das Morgenlied des Vogels weckt in der Seele verwandten Schmerz:

Weine nicht, o besessene Nachtigall, um Gottes willen!
Erbarme dich des Trennungskranken, um Gottes willen! [16])

Wohl am rührendsten ist dieser Gedanke in Yunus Emres berühmten Nachtigallengedicht ausgedrückt:

Bist du denn fremd hierhergezogen —
Ach warum weinst du, Nachtigall?
Und hast ermattet dich verflogen?
Ach warum weinst du, Nachtigall?
.....

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12) Vgl. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele,* S. 3, 3 f. — Hammer hat in seiner *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* auf S. 141 ff. eine ausgedehnte Darstellung des Subjektes gegeben.

13) Vgl. Schimmel, *Die Bildersprache Dschelaladdin Rumis,* 3 f. bes. wichtig für diesen Gedankenkomplex M II 3749.

14) M II 3767 u.a.

15) M II 1131, M IV 3335 wird das irdische Wesen der Falkenhaube verglichen, die den Vogel hindert, richtig zu sehen.

16) Galib (st. 1799) K 612.

O wie so bitter klingt dein Flehen!
Neu lässt du meinen Schmerz erstehen!
Du möchtest deinen Freund wohl sehen!
Ach, warum weinst du, Nachtigall? ... [17])

Die Nachtigall wird, wie sie hier in ihrem Morgengebet Hak Hak (Gott Gott) sagt (Yunus 592), einst im Paradies wiederum nur Allah, Allah singen:

Im Paradies die Flüsse all,
Sie fliessen nur Allah Allah,
Und dort auch jede Nachtigall
Sie singt und singt Allah Allah ...
Die Nachtigall liebt Rosen sehr,
Sie singt und singt Allah Allah! [18])

Einstmals war der Teppich des göttlichen Thrones ihre Heimat [19]), nun ist sie dem urewigen Rosenhag entflohen und lebt im Käfig eines alten Weibes (so wird in der Regel die Welt dargestellt), oftmals zusammen mit Krähen, den Sinnbildern des irdischen, körperlichen Seins, das sich noch nicht hat läutern lassen [20]). Oft wird ihre Gefangenschaft auch so dargestellt, dass sie, durch „das Korn des Schönheitsfleckchens" oder in die „Schlinge der Locke" eines irdischen Geliebten gefallen ist. Aber ihre eigentliche Sehnsucht gilt doch dem Rosenhang der ewigen Heimat.

Wie die Nachtigall letztlich die Sublimierung der Seelenvogelvorstellung zur lieblichsten Gestalt ist, so die Rose der höchste Ausdruck des Motivs von der göttlichen Pflanze, vom „blühenden Baum der Gottheit".

Gewiss ist die Blumensymbolik — welchen Ursprungs sie auch sein mag — in der persisch-türkischen Poesie weit verbreitet. Wenn der Koran verkündet, dass alles Geschaffene — Stein Pflanze Tier — Gott in seiner Sprache und Bewegung preist, so hat die mystische Dichtung mit Freude diesen Gedanken aufgenommen und ein Preislied auf die Schönheit der von der göttlichen Liebe bewegten Natur angestimmt:

Wenn der Lenzwind der Liebe zu wehen beginnt,
Jeder Zweig, der nicht dürr ist, regt sogleich sich im Tanz! [21]).

17) Yunus Div. 593.
18) Ebd. 477.
19) K 682 und oft.
20) Yunus Div. 131, DST CXVIII u.a.
21) Rubaiyat, Hs. Esad 2693, f. 329 b 2.

singt DSCHELĀLADDĪN RŪMĪ, und YUNUS EMRE nimmt den Gedanken auf: [22])

Was macht man mit dem dürren Baum? Man haut ihn ab und verbrennt ihn!
Jeder, der kein Liebender ist, gleicht dem dürren Baum!

Jede Blüte des Gartens, jeder Zweig, jeder Baum gewinnt in dieser Poesie ein ihm eigenes Leben: stumm steht die Lilie trotz ihrer zehn Zungen — ein Bild des Weisen, der seine Weisheit verschweigt, oder des Mystikers, der Gott schweigend lobt; die Tulpe, gekennzeichnet durch das schwarze Brandmal im Herzen, hebt den gefüllten Weinbecher; in dem Wuchs der jungen Zypresse erkennt der Dichter den schlanken Leib des Geliebten; die dunklen Veilchen tragen die Fahnen der Abbasidenkalifen [23]) (schwarz war die Farbe dieses Herrschergeschlechtes) oder:

Trägt Veilchen deines Klosters Trauerkleid,
und senkt den Kopf so tief aus Trennungsleid,

wie es ATTĀR in dem Proömium zum *Ilāhīnāme* ausdrückt. Im Grunde aber empfindet der orientalische Dichter alle Blumen, alle Blüten nur als Vorbereitung auf das Wunder der Rose:

Violen mit gesenktem Haupte weinen,
dass auf der Flur die Rose mög erscheinen! [24])

Die Rose ist der stolze Reiterkönig, vor dem alle anderen, wie das Gras, bescheiden zu Fuss gehen müssen [25]), denn sie ist die letzte und höchste Verkörperung der Schönheit, der irdische Abglanz himmlischer Vollkommenheit.

Als solcher begegnet uns nun freilich die Rose nicht nur in der orientalischen, sondern ebensogut in der europäischen Dichtung aller Zeiten. Das Lob, das der Rose von Anbeginn an in der Poesie gespendet wird, ist so mannigfaltig, wie die immer verfeinerten Formen, die immer köstlicheren Farben und Düfte dieser Blume. Von den neueren Dichtern, welche die Rose besungen haben, seien nur RILKE und GEORGE hervorgehoben; W. B. YEATS hat das mystische Geheimnis der *Rose of all Roses* zu deuten gesucht. Mehr als alles andere aber ist die Rose das Symbol der göttlichen Gegenwart geworden — ob nun DANTE

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22) Div. 77.
23) Ahmedi, Veilchen-Kaside K 102.
24) *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste* 259, Frühlingskaside.
25) DST XL.

der Schau der *Rosa mystica* gewürdigt wird oder ob das Weihnachtslied singt: „Es ist ein Ros entsprungen" [26]) — eben jene Rose, die auch im Volkslied beschworen wird:

Maria durch ein Dornwald ging ...
Da haben die Dornen Rosen getragen.

Rosen trugen sie auch, als der heilige Franziskus im Übermass der Gottesliebe seinen nackten Leib ins Dorngesträuch warf; in Rosen verwandelte sich das Brot der heiligen Elisabeth als Zeichen für die göttliche Präsenz.

Die Rosen seh ich gern, denn sie sind weiss und rot
Und voller Dornen wie mein Blutbräutgam, mein Gott,

sagt ANGELUS SILESIUS [27]), der sonst vielmehr den Christen der Rose vergleicht, die sich im Mai der göttlichen Sonne öffnen, im Leiden unverwelkt blühen soll [28]) — Gedanken, die in das weite Feld der rosenkreuzerischen Symbolik überleiten.

Die rote Rose der flammenden Gottesliebe steht in der christlichen Symbolik neben der lichten Rose der Askese und der Jungfräulichkeit — Sinnbild (oft ohne Fruchtboden) der Gottesmutter, der „Rose ohne Dornen", der

Rose of Memory,
Rose of Forgetfulness,
Exhausted and life-giving,
Worried reposeful
The single Rose
Is now the Garden
Where all loves end

(T. S. ELIOT, *Ash Wednesday*) — Sinnbild auch mancher Heiligen: rosa rorans bonitatem, preist der Hymnus die heilige Birgitta.

Wie stellt nun die persisch-türkische Poesie jene Blume dar, deren Lob von den ersten Zeugnissen persischer Dichtung beginnt? Unter welchem Aspekt sieht sie das Verhältnis der Nachtigall zur Rose? J. VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL hat es für nötig gehalten, seiner Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens eine Erklärung voranzuschicken, in der die üblichen Symbole und Allegorien der orientalischen Dichtung erläutert werden:

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26) Vgl. die Rosenweihe, die der Papst am Sonntag Lätare in Rom an einer goldenen Rose vornimmt.
27) Cherub. Wandersmann II 84.
28) Ebd. III 87, 90, 91, 86.

Die Dichtung der Liebe der Nachtigall zur Rose ist eine der ältesten und zartesten Mythen persischer Poesie, so alt und zart wie die Rosenhaine von Persis, wo die Nachtigall schon vor Firdusi Pehlewi oder altpersisch sprach ...

Dit Rose, die hundertblättrige (Sadberg), ist die Königin der Schönen, die Nachtigall, die tausendstimmige (Hesardassitan), der König der Sänger, beyde die Gefährten des Frühlings, der schönsten Zeit der Jugend und der Lust. Immer prangt hellglänzend und lacht frohlockend die Rose, während die Nachtigall flehend und wimmernd die Schmerzen ihrer Liebe der Nacht klagt, daher sie auch der Sänger der Nacht heisst. Wo Rosen erblühen, kosen auch Nachtigallen, welche nie aufhören, unter tausend wechselnden Formen des Wohllauts der Rose ihre Liebe zu erklären, während diese, darüber unbekümmert, sich nur des Lebens freut, ohne sich die melancholischen Klagen der Nachtigall sehr zu Herzen zu nehmen. Unablässig singt diese von Liebe, und wiewohl nicht immer zufrieden mit der Gegenliebe der Rose, muntert sie doch als Muster treuer Liebe den Wanderer zur Liebe auf ...

Daher ist sie die eigentliche und einzige Muse orientalischer Dichter ... (S. 25)

Entzückend hat der frühe persische Dichter KISAI der Wert der Rose ausgedrückt:

Die Rose ist ein Huldgeschenk vom Himmel,
Die Rose kann den Menschen Glück verleihn.
Verkaufst du, Rosenhändler, sie für Silber —
Was kaufst du für das Geld denn Bessres ein? [29])

Und in DSCHELĀLEDDĪN RŪMĪS Gedichten ist stets von neuem das Lob der Rose gesungen — die Rose ist das höchste Liebeszeichen —; nach HAMMER-PURGSTALLS glanzloser Übersetzung eines der schönsten Rosengedichte RŪMĪS hat RÜCKERT in unnachahmlicher Weise das Geheimnis der Rose in seinen Versen ausgebreitet: [30])

Der Tag ist hie, das Fest ist hie der Rose,
Hell strahlen unsern Blicken die der Rose.
Die Liebe war des Rosenbeetes Gärtner,
Dass lieblich uns der Flor gedieh der Rose.
Als Kunde scholl: Die Rose naht! die Blumen
Sich senkten huldigend aufs Knie der Rose.
Die Tulpe schwieg, Narzisse blickte trunken,
Verwirre vom Glanze schwankte sie der Rose.

29) E. G. BROWNE, *A literary History of Persia* II 164. Vgl. Yunus Div. 592.

30) *Gesch. Red. Persiens* 186, in RÜCKERTS Mevlana-Dschelaladdin-Ghaselen, nur mit wenigen Umänderungen. Vgl. auch GST 74 das Rosen-Ghasel, in dem sogar die Rose mit Mansur (d.h. Hallādsch) am Galgen verglichen wird — höchstes Sinnbild des Liebenden.

Zum Efeu flüsterte Zypress: Erwache!
Was träumst du, Kind? Das Traumbild sieh der Rose.
Die Nachtigall, sie gellt in tausend Nächten
Nicht aus die ewge Melodie der Rose.
Der Himmel kann der Rose Bild nicht fassen,
Besiegt erliegt die Fantasie der Rose.
Die Ros ein Bote kommt vom Seelengarten,
Die Seelen alle harren hie der Rose.
Die Rose grüsst die Seele von der Heimat,
Die Seele drum vergesse nie der Rose.
Die Ros entfaltet das Diplom der Schönheit,
Den Adelsbrief, den Gott verlieh der Rose.....
Verschliess den Mund wie Knospen, und verstohlen
Sei deiner Lippe lächeln, wie der Rose.

In diesem Ghasel sind fast alle später zu behandelnden Eigenheiten des Rosenmotivs enthalten: sie ist Frühlingsbote, ist Schenke des ewigen Weines, mit geschlossenem Munde lächelnd wie eine kokette Geliebte, Sinnbild der uranfänglichen Schönheit, Fürst und Herrscher, Buch und Brief, göttlicher Gruss, überirdische Erscheinung — den schmerzvollen Aspekt, die Unnahbarkeit, die Dornen freilich verschweigt das Gedicht.

Stets ist die Rose als etwas diesem Erdenstaub nicht mehr oder noch nicht Verhaftetes angesehen worden — das Persische erlaubt hier zahllose Wortspiele zwischen den im Schriftbild gleichen *gul,* Rose und *gil,* Lehm.

Mein ganzer Leib ist Seele, könnte man sagen,
Ich bin ganz Jesus-Hauch, denke nicht, dass ich Leib bin,

lässt Dschemāladdīn Chodschendi [31]) mit Anspielung auf den lebenspendenden Atem Jesu die Rose sprechen: wie der Hauch Jesu den Toten wieder belebt, so schenkt auch der Duft der Rose dem Menschen neue Kräfte zur Genesung. In der modernen persischen Dichtung hat die Vorstellung eines solchen himmlischen Ursprungs der Rose einen feinsinnigen Interpreten in Muhammad Iqbāl gefunden:

Im Himmelsrosenhag sprach eine Huri:
„Ich habe nie, was jenseits ist, erkannt:
Was ist das: Tag und Nacht und Morgen, Abend?
Geburt und Tod, sie kennt nicht mein Verstand!"
Zum Dufthauch ward sie, sprosst am Rosenzweige,
So setzte sie den Fuss in dieses Land.
Das Auge tat sie auf, ward Knospe, lächelnd,

31) *Lubāb al-albāb,* ed. E. G. Browne, I 265.

Ward Rose — Blatt um Blatt fiel in den Sand,
Und von der Zarten, die die Fesseln löste,
Blieb nur ein Ach ... man hat es Duft genannt [32]).

Die Rose ist immer ein Sinnbild des Lenzes; erst wenn sie erscheint, d.h. also „wenn der Lenzwind der Liebe zu wehen beginnt", fängt das wahre Leben an:

Ehe es nicht Frühling wird,
Öffnet sich die rote Rose nicht,
Ehe sich die rote Rose nicht öffnet,
Klagt die Nachtigall auch nicht [33]).

Persische und türkische Dichter, an der Spitze Hafis, wetteifern darin, die Sehnsucht der Nachtigall nach dem Lenz auszudrücken:

Wenn doch der Morgenwind mit froher Botschaft vom Lenzfürsten käme
Und die Nachtigall von der Pein des Wartens erlöste! [34])

Aber die Zeit der Rose währt nicht lange; ihre Treulosigkeit ist eine immer wieder beklagte Tatsache. Oft mahnen die Dichter wohl, die gute Zeit eben um ihrer Vergänglichkeit willen auszunutzen [35]); häufig auch wird das vergängliche Leben mit dem Entfalten der Rosen verglichen.

In zwanzig Tagen zehnerlei Rosen erscheinen,
Hundert entstehn und leben der Tage nicht einen.
Um ihrer selbst, um den Weltlauf und um meinen Kummer
Kommen sie spät, gehen eilend und lachen und weinen [36]).

Manchmal macht der „Wind des Neides" [37]) die Pracht des Gartens zunichte, aber im Grund scheint die Rose selbst treulos zu sein.

Das Zeichen von Treue und Vertrag ist nicht im Lächeln der Rose —
Klage, liebende Nachtigall, denn es ist der Ort des Klagens [38]).

Auch sie ist dem Gesetz des Kommens und Gehens unterworfen und zieht weiter „Knospen an der Brust, Rosenbahren auf dem Rücken" [39]). „Sie lacht dich jeden Frühling aus, aber sie lacht dich nicht an", sagt ʿAṭṭār zur Nachtigall im *Manṭiq uṭ-ṭair* (V. 279).

Der Gedanke der Treulosigkeit erscheint im ersten Augenblick vielleicht befremdend, doch muss man sich dabei immer die klassische

32) Peyām-i mashriq 101.
33) Yunus Div. 593.
34) K 381, vgl. oft Hafiz.
35) Z.B. Hafiz I 534, 560.
36) Qavāmī al-Charakī, Lubāb II 357.
37) Hafiz I 302.
38) Ebd. 82, auch 382.
39) Buch der Ewigkeit 155.

Konzeption von dem in sich ruhenden, den Klagen des Liebenden kein Ohr leihenden, grausamen Geliebten vergegenwärtigen, der sich stets der Vereinigung, ja selbst der Annäherung entzieht — eine Anschauung, die den grössten Teil der persisch-türkischen Dichtung beherrscht. Die Rose denkt nur an sich, sie liebt sich selbst

Ich sehne mich, zu küssen die eigne Lippe mir —
Was Nachtigall! In Liebe bin ich zu mir entbrannt![40])

Die absolute, in sich ruhende Schönheit aber ist die Ursache für den Gesang der Nachtigall, für ihre schöpferische, sehnsüchtige Tätigkeit, und erst durch die Klage des Vogels, dessen Wunsch nach Vereinigung nie erfüllt wird, gewinnt der Rosenhag seinen Wert: unerfüllte Sehnsucht ist schöpferisch — das wenigstens ist die Interpretation, die MUHAMMAD IQBĀL dem uralten Rose-Nachtigall-Motiv gegeben hat[41]).

Die Nachtigall, die sich so in Sehnsucht verzehrt und nur selten einmal ein hartes Wort zu der unerbittlichen Rose spricht[42]), sie lebt immer in der Furcht vor dem Herbst der Trennung, wenn ihr selbst zum Klagen keine Möglichkeit mehr gegeben ist:

Wo keine Rose bleibt, verstummt der Vogel —
Was nützt die Zunge denn ohne Ohr?[43])

Im Sommer gibt doch zumindest die Nähe der geliebten Rose (die auch sonst mit dem geöffneten Ohr verglichen wird)[44]) dem Vogel die Hoffnung, gehört und vielleicht erhört zu werden — im Herbst beginnt die absolute Dunkelheit, die Einsamkeit, die Gottesferne.

Wehklagt eine herbstgetroffne Nachtigall im Gartenraum,
Zur Erkenntnis ihres Zustands aufgewacht aus ihrem Traum.
Das Geheimnis meiner Lage, spricht sie, kennet niemand als
Eine Nachtigall, die aus der Hand gab ihrer Rose Saum.[45])

Keine Einsamkeit kann tiefer sein als die der Nachtigall ohne Rose — so kann GANIZADE in seiner *Miraciyya,* der Schilderung der nächtlichen Himmelsreise Muhammads, sagen:

Gabriel wurde am Sidre-Baum von jenem Herrn getrennt,

40) Chodschendi, Lubāb I 265.
41) Peyami Mashriq 255.
42) Vgl. Hafiz I 194: Morgens sagte der Gartenvogel zur neuerblühten Rose:
Sei nicht so kokett, denn in diesem Garten sind viele wie du!
Die Rose lächelte: Die Wahrheit betrübt mich nicht, aber
Kein Liebender sagt etwas Hartes zu seinem Geliebten.
43) Hilali, *Gesch. Red. Persiens 372.*
44) Z.B. Lamii G VI 119, Ragib Paşa ebd. 269.
45) Dschami, Übers. Rückert, in: Rückert-Nachlese Nr. 1854.

Wie eine von der Rose getrennte Nachtigall blieb er traurig allein [40],

denn in das Gebiet der unmittelbaren Gebetszwiesprache des Propheten — und des Menschen allgemein — findet kein geschaffenes Wesen, sei es auch der höchste Engel, einen Weg [47]; er bleibt ausgeschlossen von der innersten Gottesgegenwart.

Wenn die Rose den Frühling ankündet, so bedeutet das Zeit der Freude, der Ergötzung, des Trinkens. Schon die arabische Dichtung — wie z.B. ABU NUWAS im frühen 9. Jhd. — hatte Rose und Weinglas in Beziehung gesetzt; unter den ältesten neupersischen Dichtern fordert bereits FARRUCHI zum Genuss auf, „da auf dem Rosenbusch das Rotweinglas gestellt" [48].

OMAR CHAYYAM und HAFIZ sind die Hauptvertreter dieses Motivs unter den Persern; die türkische *Divan edebiyatı* hat das Bild ausgeschmückt und oft umgekehrt:

Schenke, welche hübsche Rose ist der Weinpokal —
Wer ihn in die Hand genommen, wird zur Nachtigall! [49]

singt BAKI, der auch den Becher auf der Hand des Schenken „einer flüssigen Rose auf einem Zweige" vergleicht, ein von Späteren oft wiederholtes Motiv [50], das seine Vollendung bei NEDIM (st. 1730) gefunden hat:

Rose in einer Hand kamst du, Schenke, in einer das Glas —
welchen davon soll ich nehmen, — Rose, das Glas, oder dich?

Wollte man diesen ganz irdisch gemeinten Vers des graziösen Rokokodichters mystisch interpretieren, so wären alle Voraussetzungen gegeben: ist doch der Schenke der Inbegriff des göttlichen Geliebten, der den Pokal mit dem Wein der uranfänglichen Liebe, den Trank vom Mahl des Urvertrages zwischen Gott und Mensch (*bezm-i alast,* s. Koran 7/171) kredenzt. Doch zeigt dieses Beispiel nur, wie leicht die sinnliche und übersinnliche Sphäre miteinander verwebt werden können, und dass die Frage nach allegorischer oder wörtlicher Deutung der orientalischen Gedichte nicht nur für den bekanntesten Vertreter dieser Kunstform, HAFIZ, zu bedenken ist, sondern mehr oder minder für alle klassische persisch-türkische Dichtung.

46) K 356.
47) So Mevlana Rumi in *fīhi mā fīhi,* 15, 1 nach einem bekannten Hadith Muhammeds.
48) BROWNE, in seiner Ed. von *Chahār Maqāle* S. 61 f.
49) Divan Şiiri Antolojisi (Varlık yayınları) 38.
50) Baki K 296, Galib ebd. 605.

Rosengarten und Weinhaus, Rose und Becher werden vertauschbar — ist es nur Zufall oder Spielerei, dass eine bestimmte Art von schlanken Flaschen aus mehrfarbigem Glas, die im 18. und 19. Jhd. in der türkischen Manufaktur hergestellt worden sind, als *bülbül çeşmleri,* Nachtigallenaugen, bezeichnet werden?

Rosenfarbig wird auch die Wange des Schenken, der den Wein aus rosengleichem Becher trinkt [52]). Der Vergleich der Wange mit der Rose ist ja mehr als genug in allen Literatursprachen geläufig —

Als Schams-i Tabrizi die Rose seiner Wange zeigte,
Kam die Nachtigall der Seele aus dem Käfig und begann zu klagen — [53])

nun wird die Rose auch als „ganz Wange ohne Auge" bezeichnet [54]), während die Narzisse seit alters her „nur Auge" ist [55]).

Wir sahen nicht den Rosengarten, wir pflückten keine Rose, aber wir sahen
dass deine Wange vom Wein Rose in Rose, Rosengarten in Rosengarten war [56]).

Die absolute Gleichsetzung der beiden Begriffe Rose-Wange hat ein persischer Poet in einem kunstreich verschränkten Vers vollzogen:

Da vom Bilde seiner Wange Spiegel ward voll Rosen all —
Papagei, der sich drin spiegelt, wird sogleich zur Nachtigall [57]).

Neben der oben schon genannten Vergleichung der geöffneten Rose mit dem lauschenden Ohr (und man könnte aus dem deutschen Sprachbereich beispielsweise Rilkes Worte „niemandes Schlaf zu sein unter so viel Lidern" hinzufügen) — steht das mannigfach variierte Bild des Knospenmundes. Schon Nesimi, einer der frühesten und sprachmächtigsten Vertreter türkischer Mystik, klagt:

O knospenmündige, mich verbrannte der Dorn der Trennung —
Komm komm, ohne dich füllt sich knospengleich mein Inneres mit Blut — wo bist du? [58])

und in der Zeit der Hochklassik heisst es:

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51) Nedim K 568.

52) Muhammad b. Raschid Lubāb I 106.

53) GST 113 zur Rosenwange vgl. auch Ahmed Paşa (K 95): „Es sind auf deiner Tulpenwange Schönheitsflecken ausgestreut, als ob ein Inderkind in den Rosengarten ginge, um Rosen zu pflücken."

54) Muhammad b. Raschīd, Lubāb I 106.

55) Ibn al-Muʿtazz, IV, ed. 3, Lewin, S. 93, vgl. auch seine Rosenbeschreibungen ebd. 83, 87.

56) Nedim K 559; vgl. Baki K 313.

57) *Gesch. Red. Persiens,* Maūlana Kasim Kâhi.

58) K 41.

Hat dich, dass du dich noch nicht auftust, verwundet des Sprossers Schall?
O Knospe, bist du das Herz denn der weinenden Nachtigall? [59])

Der geheimnisvoll lächelnde Knospenmund wird hier gesehen als blutgefüllter Herzbeutel, und damit wird — wenn auch in Frageform — das Mysterium der essentiellen Einheit von Liebenden und Geliebten, von Rose und Nachtigall angedeutet. Das Lächeln der Knospe ist in der türkischen Poesie durch die Möglichkeit eines Wortspiels zwischen *gül* Rose und *gül-* lachen ein beliebtes Motiv.

Du lächelst und tust dich auf im Rosenhag wie die Rose —
Im Käfig des Körpers klagt der jammernde Vogel meines Herzens [60]).

Vereinigung ist das Ziel der Nachtigall, Vereinigung erhofft die liebende Seele; aber nicht nur die Unnahbarkeit des Geliebten, sondern auch äussere Hindernisse lassen sie nicht ans Ziel gelangen:

Auch wir gingen um der Rose willen in den Garten der Vereinigung, aber
Überall die Narzissen-Wächter — da wurde die Klage der Nachtigall schwierig [61]).

D.h. also, das aus der mittelalterlichen Poesie geläufige Motiv des Merkers, der die Liebenden belauert, ist hier auf die, nur aus Augen bestehenden, Narzissen übertragen — die Eifersüchtigen, auf die äussere Ordnung des Gartens Bedachten hindern die Liebenden selbst am Klagen, wie die Seele auch ihren Schmerz nicht öffentlich kundtun kann.

Nur in ganz seltenen Fällen wird die Rose als Braut geschildert. Bahayi wünscht noch:

Wenn die Rosenbraut nur das rote Taschentuch in die Hand nähme
um die Tränen der Nachtigallen abzuwischen, die über die Tyrannei der Dornen klagen [62]).

Rot ist ja Schleier und Tuch, welches die Braut in vielen nahöstlichen Ländern trägt [63]), so dass das Bild auch verstandesmässig richtig ist. Auch Mesihi kennt das Brautmotiv [64]), und Fuzuli fragt sogar ein-

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59) Divan Şiiri Ant. 54.
60) Nedim K 564, vgl. z.B. Baki Divan Şiiri Ant. 42.
61) Kâmi K 482.
62) K 381.
63) Vgl. Heffening, *Zur Geschichte der Hochzeitsgebräuche im Islam* (Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft, 1943) bes. S. 405.
64) G VI 89; vgl. Ahmedi K 60.

mal rhetorisch, ob wohl Rose und Nachtigall um des Friedens willen geheiratet hätten [65]).

Die vollendetste Erscheinung der Schönheit der Menschengestalt ist nach islamischer Auffassung Jusuf, dem das Weib des Potiphar voller Begierde das Hemd zerriss. So ist es nicht erstaunlich, dass auch die Rose mit Jusuf gleichgesetzt wird — findet sich doch neben der allgemeinen Schönheit noch ein zweiter Vergleichungspunkt zwischen den beiden:

Die Rose, die in meinem Garten stand,
Sprach: Ich bin Joseph aus Ägyptenland.
An welchem Zeichen, fragt ich, kenn ich das?
Sie sprach: an meinem blutigen Gewand [66])!

Es ist das zerrissene Gewand, welches die Rose auszeichnet: die sich öffnende Rose reisst ihr rotes Gewand in Stücke. BAKI sagt deshalb [67]):

Wie die Rose muss ich das Hemd der Ehre in hundert Stücke reissen

und OMAR CHAYYAM fürchet, dass der Wind des Todes das Gewand des Lebens zerreissen werde wie das Hemd der Rose [68]). In kühner Verknüpfung dichtet ein früher türkische Poet sogar:

Der Dorn der Fremdheit zerriss meine Brust in hundert Stücke
wie die Rose —
Mein Seele wurde die klagende Nachtigall der Fremdheit [69]).

Gelegentlich wird freilich auch statt vom Zerreissen des Hemdes der Rose nur vom Aufknöpfen der Knospenknöpfe durch den Frühlingswind gesprochen [70]).

Jusuf aus Ägypten ist gleichzeitig auch der fürstliche Geliebte, und die ihm gleichende Rose ist immer von neuem mit einem König verglichen worden, der seinen smaragdenen Thron besteigt, vor dem sich alle Blumen niederwerfen [71]), dem die Narzissen in Silberschalen

65) CXXXI vgl. Kaani.
66) Sinnsprüche Omars des Zeltmachers. Deutsch von G. Rosen. Vgl. Hafiz I 100 und oft.
67) K 306.
68) Rubaiyat-i Omar-i Khayyam 98, vgl. 136.
69) Lamii K 182.
70) Baki K 275, oft im Persischen.
71) Hafiz I 42, vgl. Chodschendi Lubāb I 265, Nefi K 432, Nelim K 540. Mit einem besonders hübschen weiteren Vergleich Hafiz 312:

Jetzt, da die Rose im Garten aus dem Nichts in Erscheinung trat,
Warf das Veilchen vor ihr das Haupt nieder...
Als die Rose auf dem Winde ritt gleich Salomo,
Begann am Morgen der Vogel mit dem Gesang Davids.

Goldstücke bringen [72]), vor dem die Nachtigallen und Turteltauben als Sänger und Diener stehen, die jede Nacht in vielfachen Zungen Segenswünsche für ihn sprechen [73]). ISHAK ÇELEBI vergleicht die Rose in ihrem Zug gegen den Tulpengarten sogar mit dem osmanischen Sultan, der gegen die Kızılbaş vorgeht [74]).

Doch steht neben diesen gebräuchlichen und allzuweit ausgesponnenen Beschreibungen der Rose in ihrer Herrscherpracht noch eine weitere, eigenartigere:

> Jüngst in der Sprache Pehlevi vom Ast im Rosenbeet
> Las Nachtigall Collegium, und sprach das Herzgebet [75]).

Die Rose ist ein Buch, ein heiliges Buch, das seit unvordenklichen Zeiten nur die liebende Nachtigall ohne Fehler liest [76]). Denn der Sinn dieses göttlich offenbarten, Blatt um Blatt immer neue Erkenntnisse der göttlichen Schönheit schenkenden Buches kann nur von einer liebenden und sehnsüchtigen Seele verstanden werden, ist theologischer und wissenschaftlicher Zergliederung unzugänglich.

> Laut liest vom Blatt der Rose die Nachtigall ein Wort,
> das hundert Kommentaren schwer auszulegen fällt [77]).

Sie schenkt auch aus göttlicher Vollmacht „den Freibrief für die Liebe der Nachtigall", wie sich NEF'I ausdrückt [78]).

Die Rose, welche meist in der persisch-türkischen Lyrik besungen wird, ist rot; doch finden sich auch Verse auf die kohabische (d.h. zweifarbige) Rose, in deren Rot und Blassgelb Liebe und Trennungsschmerz symbolisiert sind [79]). Die reinrote Rose gleicht dem Rubin und gleicht noch mehr der Sonne [80]) — es ist, wie MEVLANA RUMI sagt, „die Sonne, die aus Monden wuchs, die Rose" —.

Und sie ist Feuer: jenem Feuer, das im Dornbusch vor Mose auf-

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72) Fuzuli CXVIII.

73) Ahmedi K 60, Riyazi G VI 205.

74) G VI 125.

75) Hafis/Rückert J 23.

76) Safi K 120; vgl. Mesihi: „als ob die Rose den Vögel ᶜAṭṭārs Manṭiq uṭ-ṭair vorläse (G VII 88) — ᶜAṭṭār bedeutet ja gleichzeitig auch der 'Duftthändler', dann 'Drogist'. — Vgl. auch G VI 164.

77) Dschami, in Rückerts Übersetzung, Rückert-Nachlese.

78) K 433.

79) al-Chalidi, dtsch. von Rückert, s. Lyrik des Ostens s. 59. Dasselbe Motiv bei Sarachsi, Lubāb II 56.

80) Vgl. Feyzi, bei HAMMER, *Gesch. Red. Persiens* 403:

> In den Augen Bülbüls, der früh aufsteht in dem Garten,
> Ist die Rose die Sonne, Dornen die Strahlen davon.

flammte, wird sie verglichen, und damit ist wiederum ihr göttlicher Ursprung, ihre Rolle als vollkommenste Erscheinungsform der göttlichen Schönheit und Macht angedeutet.

Das Rosenfeuer, bis zur modernsten türkischen Dichtung ein beliebtes Bild (AHMAD HAMDI, TANPINAR, AHMET HAŞIM, YAHYA KEMAL) ist in der mystischen türkischen Poesie am gewaltigsten in dem Feuer-Ghasel des Mevlevi-Dichters GALIB DEDE (st. 1799) ausgedrückt:

Rose ist Glut, Rosenzweig Glut, Rosenhag Glut, Bachrand Glut... [81])

Die ganze Welt soll von den Fackeln der Rosen, von dem göttlichen Feuer entflammt werden, und es ist typisch, dass der Verfasser eines epischen Gedichtes namens *Gül ve Bülbül,* FAZLI, in seinem Einleitunggebet Gott anredet:

O du, der du die Fackeln der Rosen anzündest,
der du in den Speicher der Nachtigallen Feuer wirfst! [82]) —

ist es doch üblich, im Eingangsgebet der Epen schon in den Anrufungsformeln den Charakter und Inhalt des Gedichtes anklingen zu lassen. Dass das Feuer der Wange der Rose den Speicher der Nachtigallen verbrennt, ist ein gewöhnliches Bild [83]). Wiederum ist hier ein tiefsinniges Wortspiel im Türkischen zwischen *gül* Rose und *kül,* Asche, möglich, wie bereits YUNUS EMRE sagt:

Die Aschenplätze (*külhan*) jenes Ortes sind die Rosengärten (*gülşen*) der Liebenden —
Dort verbrannten die Nachtigallen ihre Flügel am Feuer der Liebe [84]).

Und ŞEYHULISLAM YAHYA ruft drei Jahrhunderte später aus:

O Rose, wenn die verwirrte Seele am Feuer deiner Liebe verbrennt,
Möge aus jeder Handvoll Asche eine Nachtigall erscheinen! [85])

Denn der Tod im Feuer der Liebe ist nichts anderes als eine Neugeburt auf höherer Ebene: der Seelenvogel hebt sich, dem Phönix gleich aus dem Staub, verjüngt, verschönt, und bereit, sich wiederum dem Brand der Liebe zu überlassen, die Leiden der Liebe zu erdulden.

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81) K 608.

82) G VI 147. Vgl. Fuzuli CXLIV: „Da er wusste, dass meine Zypresse in den Garten kommen wollte, hat der Rosenfürst an allen Seiten des Weges tausende von Fackeln aufgestellt".

83) Z.B. Hafiz I 674, Kâmi K 484.

84) Yunus Div. 428.

85) K 335. Die Umkehrung des Feuermotivs bei Behayi, K 381: „O frische Rose, hüte dich, hüte dich vor dem Feuer der Zunge der Nachtigall".

Leiden ist unausweichlich in der Nähe der Rose: wird sie nicht als verzehrendes Feuer aufgefasst, so hindert ihr Dorn jeden, sich ihr zu nähern. Die Röte der Rose entstammt den Blut der Nachtigall:

Wenn die Rose keinen Pfeil in das Herz der Nachtigall geschossen hätte,
Warum ist ihre Pfeilspitze dann so mit rotem Blut gefärbt? [86])

Mit ihrem eigenen Herzblut zieht die Nachtigall die Rose auf, und es kommt ihr nicht zu, über die Dornen zu klagen:

Die Nachtigall, der alles was von Rosen kommt, behagt,
Es kommt ihr nicht die Klage zu, selbst wenn der Dorn sie nagt [87]).

Wenn der von islamischer Mystik stark beeinflusste Raymondus Lullus auf die Frage, was Glück wäre, die Antwort findet „Unglück, erduldet durch Liebe" — so trifft das unzweifelhaft für das Bild von Rose und Nachtigall zu: das Glück der Nachtigall besteht aus dem scheinbar hoffnungslosen Sehnen nach dem grausamen Geliebten, der sie peinigt und für dessen Schönheit ihr Klagen, ihr Weinen notwendig ist. Um die Macht des Herrn zu zeigen, sind auch die Seufzer der Leidenden notwendig:

Nimm das Klagen der Liebenden nicht übel, o Seele, denn die Schönheit
Der Rose nimmt zu durch den Glanz des Seufzers der Nachtigallen [88]).

Kaiser Akbar hat in kürzester Form ausgedrückt, was die Rose aufs Lieblichste schmückt:

Tautropfen sind's nicht, die auf Rosen fallen —
Es sind die Tränen nur der Nachtigallen;

und auch der türkische Vierzeiler-Dichter Haleti erklärt, dass das Wasser der Augen der Nachtigallen den Rosengarten tränken müsse [89]).

In den bisher angeführten Beispielen konnten Rose und Nachtigall durchaus in ihrem natürlichen, nicht symbolischen Sinn verstanden werden, wenngleich oft genug auf den tieferen Sinn der Verse hingewiesen worden ist. Aber die Dichter und Mystiker konnten leicht — da sie um den tieferen Sinn beider Begriffe wussten — sie ins Geistige

86) Dehhani K 22.
87) Dschami/Rückert 1811.
88) Baki, tahmis, K 280.
89) Vgl. Nef'i K 404, Haleti G VI 186.

umdeuten, von den Rosen des Glaubens, von der Nachtigall des Herzens offen sprechen und die eigentlich religiöse Bedeutung der Begriffe stets am Leben erhalten — das eigentümliche Schweben zwischen beiden Sphären ist ja dann die Eigenheit der gesamten persisch-türkischen Lyrik.

Wie viele Werke sind nicht als *Rosenhag* oder *Rosengarten* bezeichnet worden, von SA'DIS *Gulistan* an über ŞABISTARIS mystisches Poem *gulşen-i rāz,* dem 'Rosenflor des Geheimnisses' oder IZZET MOLLAS *gülşen-i aşk,* dem 'Rosenhag der Liebe'; denn, wie NEF'I sagt,

Ein Rosenhag ist meine Fantasie, seine Nachtigall ist die gespaltene Zunge,
Das hübsch fliessende Wasser jenes Rosengartens ist mein Wort [90]).

Der höchste Wert wird nun absolut gleichgesetzt mit der Rose, mit dem Rosenhag.

Das Einheitsbekenntnis ist der Honig derer, die Bienen sind.
Das Einheitsbekenntnis ist die Rose derer, die Nachtigallen sind,

sagt YUNUS EMRE [91]), der auch klagt, dass seine Sünden so viel seien, dass die Rosen des Glaubens erfrierend verwelkt seien [92]) — sie, die empfindlichen Gewächse des Gottvertrauens und der Gottesliebe, bedürfen der schützenden Nähe zum göttlichen Licht, der lebenspendenden Verbindung zur göttlichen Wurzel.

Und wie der Glauben, so ist auch die Fähigkeit zum Dank ein göttliches Gnadengeschenk und darf daher dem Rosenhag verglichen werden:

Jeden Augenblick im Rosenhag des Dankes an Gott
Bringt er gleich der Nachtigall tausend Weisen vor [93]).

Wenn oben die Rose als himmliches Buch bezeichnet wurde, dessen Auslegungsmöglichkeiten nie erschöpft sind, so kann DCHELĀLADDĪN RŪMĪ andererseits den Koran mit einem Garten vergleichen und bei der Behandlung des schwierigen Problems der aufhebenden und aufgehobenen Koranverse sagen:

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90) K 397.
91) Yunus 534.
92) Ebd. 242, vgl. Galib. terciibent K 592 „Die Rose der Hoffnung welkte", oder Ahmed Paşa K 93 „Sperre nicht die Nachtigall des Lobes in den Käfig des Kummers".
93) M II 3288.

Bei jedem Gesetz, das abrogiert wurde,
Trug Er Gras hinweg und brachte Rosen als Ersatz [94]).

Es ist der überweltliche Garten der göttlichen Gegenwart, in dem die Wunder der prophetischen Offenbarung sich zeigen.

Die Rosenknospen rezitieren die Koranverse von der Eroberung
In jenem geistigen Garten, in dem wir die Nachtigallen sind,

sagt NABI [95]). Freilich ist die eigentliche Nachtigall des göttlichen Rosenhages der Prophet; in SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBIS *Mevlud*, das noch heute zahllose Male im Jahr in türkischen Familien rezitiert wird, begrüsst der Dichter als Dolmetsch aller Kreatur den neugeborenen Muhammed u.a. mit dem Ruf:

Sei willkommen, Nachtigall des Gartens der Schönheit!

Zu diesem Garten sehnt sich die Seele, die hier gefangen ist.

Die trunkene Nachtigall warst du im Kreise der krächzenden Eulen
Vom Rosenhag kamen die Düfte — da bist du zum Garten gegangen,

hat MEVLĀNĀ RŪMĪ mehr als einmal gesungen, und in den Versen der mystischen Dichter, vor allem bei YUNUS EMRE, klingt dieser Ruf nach Heimkehr des Seelenvogels — Echo platonischer Vorstellungen — in den Garten der Gottheit immer von neuem auf [96]). Nur der Törichte, der die Vollkommenheit verabscheut, wird diesem Rosengarten entfliehen [97]).

Dem Mystiker mag der göttliche Rosenhag hie und da in irdischer Verkörperung erscheinen; Nesimi ruft überschwänglich:

Dein Angesicht ist der Rosenhag des Paradieses von Eden, ohne Zweifel —
O du, in dessen Rosengarten der Geist Gottes und Ridvan Nachtigallen sind [98]).

Denn die Rose wird nun in Verbindung gebracht mit dem in irdischer Form die göttliche Schönheit widerspiegelnden Geliebten (s.o. auch des Josephsmotiv!), in dessen Anschauen (*naẓar*) der Liebende ganz versinkt. Die Theorie von der Schau, vom Anblick des schönen Menschen, ist in der frühislamischen Mystik lange umstritten gewesen, die Zulässigkeit der Kontemplation des schönen Jünglings — oder in welcher Gestalt sich der Geliebte darstellen mochte — ist lange Zeit be-

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94) M I 3860.
95) G VI 226.
96) Yunus Div. z.B. 257, 212, 46, 242.
97) M II 2113.
98) G VI 40. Geist Gottes bedeutet Jesus, Ridvan ist der Hüter des Paradieses.

zweifelt worden. Ahmed Ghazali stellte der Überlieferung nach zwischen sich und den Geliebten eine Rose — so verschmelzen die beiden Erscheinungsformen der ewigen Schönheit [99]).

Die Nachtigall hat sich in das Gesicht der roten Rose verliebt —

Ich sah das Antlitz der Geweihten und erzählte tausend Geschichten,

singt Yunus Emre [100]) (mit dem implizierten Wortspiel *häzar,* tausend und Nachtigall). Deshalb wird der Scheich, als Führer auf dem mystischen Pfade, in der türkischen mystischen Poesie gern in Verbindung mit dem Rosenmotiv genannt:

Meines Scheichs Land und Ort,
Weit ist der Weg nach dort,
Rosen blühn fort und fort —
Wer kam, zu pflücken sie? [101])

Denn der geistige Führer, dem sich der Liebende in voller Hingabe anvertraut, lehrt ihn zunächst die Liebe und ihre Schmerzen kennen, jene „Liebe, die bei den Herzensleuten Rosenhag der Heimsuchung heisst" [102]). Er führt ihn über die Brücke des sichtbaren Symbols hin zur geistigen Welt, lehrt ihn, dass

jeder Rose, neu erblüht, die den Garten schmückt,
sind von deinem Duft und Glanz die Spuren eingedrückt [103]).

oder, um noch einmal Angelus Silesius zu zitieren:

Die Rose, welche hier dein äussres Auge sieht,
Die hat von Ewigkeit in Gott also geblüht [104]).

Mevlānā Rūmī hat immer wieder auf dieses Geheimnis hingewiesen und wohl deshalb das Bild der Rose so geliebt:

Kein einziges Atom ist leer von Seiner Liebe —
Jede Rose trägt den Duft vom Rosenhag Seiner Vereinigung [105]).

Erst durch die Nähe zu Gott, durch die Verbindung mit ihm gewinnt die irdische Rose Wert und wird unsterblich, wird eins mit dem ewigen Rosenhag:

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99) Vgl. Ritter, *Arabische und persische Schriften über mystische und profane Liebe,* Philologica VII, Islam 21. — Ders. *Das Meer der Seele* 473, im Zentrum einer detaillierten Ausführung über das Problem des *naẓar* das Zitat aus *Ibn al-Dschauzi, talbīs Iblīs* 285, betr. Ahmed Ghazālī.

100) Yunus Div. 246.

101) Ebd. 528.

102) Şeyhülislam Yahya K 336.

103) Hafiz/Rückert.

104) Cherub. Wandersmann I 108.

105) GST 80.

Die Rosen des Rosengartens, auf den du blickt, mein Gott, welken nicht [106]).

Im Symbol der Rose wird das Geheimnis des Alls angedeutet. Wieder erlaubt das Persische und Türkische ein Wortspiel zwischen *gül,* Rose und *küll,* All, so dass DSCHELĀLADDĪN RŪMĪ sagen kann [107]):

Jede Rose, die im Innern duftet,
Die Rose spricht von dem Geheimnis des Ganzen.
Ihr Duft geht, den Leugnern zum Trotz,
Schleierzerreissend durch die Welt.

Die himmlische Rose klärt durch ihren Duft die Gedanken, lenkt in der auf sie gerichteten Meditation die zerstreuten Gefühle auf das einzige Ziel.

Die Teile wenden das Gesicht zum Ganzen,
Die Nachtigallen spielen das Liebesspiel mit der Rose [108]).

Das einzige Ziel aber ist die Gegenwart Gottes. In der roten Rose sah man, einem bei BAQLĪ überlieferten Hadith zufolge, die Glorie Gottes selbst; und derselbe Mystiker schreibt: „Man hat mir gesagt, wenn der Prophet eine Rosenknospe sah, küsste er sie und legte sie auf seine Augen". BAQLĪ beschreibt auch jene Entrückung, da er die göttliche Gegenwart erlebte: sie blitzt wie eine rote Rose, die das ganze Land färbt, Rosenwolken, weisse und rote Rosen über den Schauenden ausstreut [109]).

Nun ist zu verstehen, weshalb im Orden der Naqşibendi u.a. auch eine Meditation der Rose geübt wird, die durch langanhaltenden dhikr mit genau geregelter Atemtechnik gewissermassen im Inneren des Meditierenden zum Aufblühen der mystischen Rose Hilfe leistet und so die unio mystica vorbereitet. „O Knospe, bist du das Herz wohl der klagenden Nachtigall", hatten wir oben zitiert.

In dieser Weise ist auch das Gedicht des Halveti Scheichs ÜMMI SINAN zu interpretieren, der die überirdische Welt als ganz aus Rosen geschaffen erblickte [110]):

In eine Stadt kam ich einmal;
Ich sah: Ihr Schloss aus Rosen rot,

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106) Yunus Div. 586.
107) M I 2022 ff; vgl. den Kommentar Nicholsons hierzu.
108) M I 763.
109) L. MASSIGNON, *La Vie et les oeuvres de Ruzbehan Baqli,* in: Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen, bes. S. 249, 238.
110) Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, Tekke Siiri Antolojisi 201.

Und ihres Fürsten Krone, Thron
Und Hag und Mauer Rosen rot ...

Aus Rosen drehn sich Mühlen dort,
Sie mahlen Rosen fort und fort,
Ihr Rad, ihr Wasser und ihr Port
Ihr Damm, ihr Quell sind Rosen rot.

Die Rosen rot, die Rosen weiss,
In einem Garten zwillingsweis —
Und blickt man auf den Dornenkreis,
Sind Dorn und Blüte Rosen rot ...

Aber um zu dieser Schau zu gelangen, ist die völlige Selbstaufgabe notwendig — wenn die liebende Nachtigall sich noch rühmt „ihre wundenreiche Brust sei ihr Garten und Rosenhag" [111]), so besteht doch im Grunde das Dorngestrüpp nur aus der Ichheit, aus den weltlichen Akzidenzien, die sie hindern, zum Ganz-Anderen vorzustossen [112]). Wie einfach hat Niyazi Misri (st. 1693) das ausgesprochen:

Ich glaubte, in der Welt sei mir kein Freund geblieben —
Ich liess mich selbst, und sieh: nun ist kein Feind geblieben.
Sah keinen Rosenhag, sah überall nur Dornen —
Ganz Rosen ward die Welt; nun ist kein Dorn geblieben [113]).

Wenn der bunte, unruhige Vogel in der schmerzenden Glut der Liebe zur Rose zu Staub und Asche verbrannt ist, dann können aus diesen seinen Staube farbige Rosen entspriessen [114]); wenn der Mensch nicht mehr klagt und wünscht, dann spricht der Geliebte zu ihm:

Komm herein, o Du ganz ich —
Nicht mehr entgegengesetzt wie Dorn und Rose des Gartens! [115])

In der Einigung erfährt die Nachtigall, dass sie den Rosengarten in sich selbst trägt [116]) — so wie in ʿAṬṬĀRS tiefsinnigen Gleichnis die 30 Vögel (*sī mūrġ*) in der Gegenwart der Sīmurġ erkannten, dass er nichts anderes als sie selbst war. Aber von diesem Geheimnis kann die Nachtigall nicht mehr künden, sie verstummt. Nur solange sie in der Trennung lebt, kann sie andeutend die göttliche Schönheit be-

111) Nef'i K 441.
112) Vgl. M I 2472, II 153 ff. usw.
113) Niyazi Misir, Divanı, Istanbul 1955, Nr. 59.
114) M I 1911.
115) M I 3077. In einem solchen Augenblick ist es möglich, Gottanzureden als „O du, der über jeden Dorn das Ehrenkleid der Rose geworfen hat". (ʿAṭṭār).
116) M II 3755.

singen, jene göttliche Schönheit und Fremdheit, die einer rationalen Erklärung unzugänglich ist. Mit Recht sagt MEVLĀNĀ RŪMĪ [117]):

Lass um Gotteswillen die Erklärung der Rose!
Sprich von der Nachtigall, die von der Rose getrennt ist!

In so vielen Sprachen und Religionen das Geheimnis der Rose auch besungen sein mag — im Letzten ist sie doch unaussagbar, und wir werden wieder zurückgeführt auf die dichterische Symbolik, die hie und da ein wenig von dem urewigen Wechselspiel zwischen Schönheit und Liebe, zwischen Gott und der Seele andeutet:

Was steht denn auf den hundert Blättern
Der Rose all?
Was sagt denn tausendfaches Schmettern
Der Nachtigall?

Auf allen Blättern steht, was stehet
Auf einem Blatt;
Aus jedem Lied weht, was gewehet
Im ersten hat:

Dass Schönheit in sich selbst beschrieben
Hat einen Kreis,
Und keinen andern auch das Lieben
Zu finden weiss.

Drum kreist um sich mit hundert Blättern
Die Rose all,
Und um sie tausendfaches Schmettern
Der Nachtigall [118]).

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117) M I 1802.
118) RÜCKERT, *Östliche Rosen.*

A PROBLEM OF THE OSIRIAN JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD *)

BY

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The ancient Egyptian belief that the dead would be judged in the next world on the quality of their life in this is one of the most notable achievements in the religious history of mankind, both for its antiquity and the dramatic form in which it finally found expression. So far as its antiquity is concerned, it appears as an already established belief in the *Pyramid Texts,* which date from about 2500 B.C. and which constitute, with the so-called *Shabaka Stone* [1]), not only the earliest written documents of Egyptian culture but also the first literary records which we have of human thought. The belief reaches its most elaborate form of expression in the more sumptuous copies of the so-called *Book of the Dead* in the 18th and 19th Dynasties, i.e. from about 1580-1200 B.C., it being then portrayed in the vignettes with which these versions are adorned. One of the finest of these illustrated versions is the *Papyrus of Ani,* which is now preserved in the British Museum [2]), and its representation of the belief may be taken as undoubtedly the best example which we possess. The scene depicted in the vignette concerned [3]) is enacted in the Hall of *Maat* or Truth. To the left of the picture stands the deceased scribe Ani, with his wife behind him. Both are shown in an attitude of humility and apprehension as they watch the transaction which is taking place in the centre of the stage. Here a large pair of scales stands, in the right pan of which is placed a feather which is the sign of the *Maat,* the goddess of truth or righteousness, and in the left pan is the symbol of the *ib,* i.e. the heart of the dead man, Ani. The jackal-headed mortuary god

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*) A lecture given to the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society.

1) British Museum, No. 797.

2) See The Book of the Dead: Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani (British Museum, 1894). E. A. W. BUDGE would date the Papyrus for 1450 to 1400 B.C., see his *Book of the Dead: the Papyrus of Ani* (London, 1913), vol. i, pp. 219-22.

3) *The Book of the Dead: Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani,* sheet 3.

Anubis is depicted adjusting the index of the scales. The heart or conscience of Ani is being weighed against the feather of Truth. To the right the divine scribe Thoth records the verdict on his tablet, and behind him crouches, in anticipation of an adverse judgment, a fearsome monster called Am-mit, 'she who devours' the unjust. Certain subsidiary figures are depicted, all of which are in some way related to the central drama of the judgement. By the scales stands 'Shai' (destiny); behind him are the twin goddesses Meskenit and Renenit, who presided respectively over childbirth and the nursing and rearing of the infant. Just above the goddesses is represented the *ba* or soul of Ani, and to the right of this is a curious object resembling a rectangular box with a human head; its exact significance is uncertain, but it has reasonably been suggested that it represents the chest in which the umbilical cord was placed after the birth of a child [4]). Above the scene of the weighing of the heart is shown a company of the chief Egyptian deities, who apparently act as witnesses of the judgement. The hieroglyphic text which borders the figure of Ani is that of Capter XXX of the *Book of the Dead* and contains an exhortation addressed by the dead man to his heart not to witness against him on this fateful occasion; it will be necessary to consider this text in some detail later. The hieroglyphic text next to Thoth is intended to represent the proclamation by this god of Ani's innocence as proved by the process of weighing. The remaining hieroglyphics constitute the text of the reply of the company of the gods to the effect that Ani is recognised as *maa kheru,* i.e. 'true of voice', or, in other words 'justified', because 'he hath not sinned, neither done evil against us'. (Therefore) 'It shall not be allowed to the devourer Am-mit to prevail over him'; instead he is to be rewarded by being admitted to the presence of Osiris and the endowments necessary for a blissful after-life are conferred upon him.

The succeeding scene in the *Papyrus of Ani* shows us the sequel [5]). The justified Ani is now led by Horus, the divine son of Osiris, into the presence of his father who is the lord of the blessed dead. Next, Ani is shown kneeling in adoration before Osiris. The god is depicted in his characteristic form, namely, as a mummy or embalmed corpse,

4) E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (London, 1911), vol. i, p. 331.

5) *Facsimile,* sheet 4.

with the face and hands free from the linen wrappings. He is seated on a throne which has the form of a funeral chest; he is wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt and holds the symbols of pharaonic sovereignty; behind him stands his wife, the goddess Isis, with her sister Nephthys.

In this representation of the *post-mortem* judgment in the *Papyrus of Ani* Osiris does not actually appear as presiding over the fateful weighing of the heart, but there can be no doubt that he is conceived as the divine judge of the dead. This character of Osiris is amply attested in other documents and there exist several versions of the *Book of the Dead* in which he is depicted as actually present at the crucial test [6]).

Despite the bizarre iconography of this Judgment Scene, which, true to the tradition of Egyptian art, represented many of the gods as composite beings, having animal heads on human bodies, the great spiritual significance of the idea which inspired it must be patent to all who contemplate it. Considering the date, full recognition must be given to the fine sensitivity of Egyptian moral perception in that it was believed that a man's eternal future would be determined by comparing his heart with the symbol of truth [7]). It may justly be said that for this period and long after the ancient world provides no more impressive evidence of man's dawning awareness of ethical values.

However, this Osirian Judgement of the Dead has been regarded by several eminent scholars as actually marking a declension from the high moral standard achieved in Egypt during the Old Kingdom and the first so-called Intermediate period, i.e., about one thousand years before the production of these representations of the Weighing of the Heart in the *Book of the Dead*. For example, the late Professor J. H.

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6) Cf. H. BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 338 (82); E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead* (London, 1953), pp. 149, 150; *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, pp. 338 (facing), 344 (facing); *Histoire générale des Religions* (ed. M. GORCE et R. MORTIER, Paris, 1948), t.i. p. 302.

7) On the Egyptian conception of truth or righteousness see Bonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 430f. (Maat); H. FRANKFORT, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York, 1948), pp. 53-6, 62-5, 74-80; S. A. B. MERCER, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1949), pp. 207-8, 245; E. A. W. BUDGE, *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 280-1.

Breasted held that, when in the earlier period the sun-god Re had been recognised as the divine Judge, emphasis had been laid upon the importance of social justice in this life, because Re was essentially a god who ruled in this present world; but when Osiris took the place of Re in the Judgment, since he was the ruler of the dead, morality tended to acquire a predominantly next-world significance [8]). Hermann Junker in his interpretation has taken a somewhat different line and has attributed to the growing popularity of the cult of Osiris the supplanting of the older ethical outlook by trust in magic as an effective means of obtaining a good lot after death [9]). Joachim Spiegel, Hans Bonnet and Hermann Kees believe that this decline or deflection from the earlier ethical standard was due primarily to the custom which seems to have begun in the XIth dynasty of assigning to the deceased the title of *maa kheru,* i.e. 'just of voice' or 'righteous', 'justified' [10]). This was originally the title which had been conferred on Osiris after his successful acquital of the charges which the evil Set had brought against him before the tribunal of the gods — a mythological incident which we must notice again later. According to the Osirian mortuary cultus the deceased was ritually identified with Osiris and so was thought to participate in the god's triumph, which meant, in the estimate of these scholars, that the dead man received vicarious *post-mortem* justification, i.e., that he was saved not by virtue of his own well-doing but through his magical assimilation to Osiris.

Whether the Osirianised form of the Judgment of the Dead truly represents a fall from, or a perversion of, a higher ethical outlook which had prevailed in the Old Kingdom and the first Intermediate period is debatable, and reasons will be given presently for thinking that the extant evidence by no means confirms this interpretation. However, in the development of the Egyptian concept of a *post-mortem* judgment another, and a more significant problem, is involved which seems to have escaped the attention of the scholars who have parti-

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8) *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1912), pp. 309-310, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York, 1935), p. 270.

9) *Pyramidenzeit* (Zurich, 1949), p. 99: „der Osiriskult brachte nur einen unheilvollen Abschluss, die Besiegelung der magischen Auffassung".

10) J. SPIEGEL, *Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion* (Glückstadt, 1935), pp. 44 f., cf. pp. 26 f.; BONNET, *op. cit.,* pp. 336-7; H. KEES, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter,* (Berlin, 1956), p. 107. Cf. J. VANDIER, *La Religion égyptienne* (Paris, 1949), p. 136; Mercer, *op. cit.,* p. 405.

cularly concerned themselves with the subject. This problem is constituted by the dual rôle of saviour and judge which Osiris came to assume in the mortuary cultus of ancient Egypt. The issue may be put in the form of a question: how came Osiris to be regarded as a god who both saved men from the terrors of death and decreed their fate after death by judging the quality of their lives upon earth? The issue here is of importance not only for the understanding of ancient Egyptian religion but also for the comparative study of religion, particularly in the matter of the evolution of Christian soteriology.

Any attempt at discussing this problem must necessarily start by considering the relevant data in the *Pyramid Texts,* for not only do these *Texts* constitute one of our oldest sources of evidence for Egyptian religion but they are particularly concerned with the mortuary cultus. Their use, however, is beset with difficulties, because they comprise an amorphous collection of spells and incantations, prayers and hymns, written in an archaic form of the language and designed to assist the dead pharaoh on his journey from this world to a place of beatitude in the next. Moreover, they have clearly been redacted by the priesthood of Heliopolis with the intention of promoting the interests of their own god, Atum Re; there is in fact evidence of an attitude of hostility towards Osiris, the ancient chthonic mortuary god, which perhaps is understandable on the part of the devotees of a solar deity [11]).

However, despite their complex nature, there can be little doubt from the testimony of the *Pyramid Texts* that the Egyptians had a great fear of death, and especially of the decomposition of the body which it involved. The dead king is constantly assured that his head will not become detached [12]) or his limbs fall apart or his flesh putrefy [13]). Now these assurances are given in the form of assertions

11) Cf. BONNET, *op. cit.,* p. 622a; VANDIER, *op. cit.,* pp. 74-6; *The Pyramid Texts* (ed. S. A. B. Mercer, New York, 1952), vol. iv, Excursus IV.

12) E.g. *Pyr.* 286c-d, 739a-b, text in SETHE, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1908-22), I, 154, 405; trans. MERCER, *The Pyramid Texts,* I, pp. 79, 142; L. SPELEERS, *Les Textes des Pyramides égyptiennes* (Bruxelles, 1923), I, pp. 23-4, 54.

13) *Pyr.* 725a-c, cf. 722d, text in K. SETHE, *op. cit.,* I, p. 397, 396; trans. MERCER, *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 140; L. SPELEERS, *op. cit.,* I, p. 53 See also *Pyr.* 364a-b and 208c-d (with MERCER's note, *op. cit.,* vol. iii, p. 925). G. E. SANDER-HANSEN (*Der Begriff des Todes bei den Ägyptern,* Copenhagen, 1942), p. 21, rightly points attention to the fact that the Heliopolitan and Osirian theologians

that these things do not happen to Osiris, with whom the pharaoh is identified in his death. This identification was fundamental to the whole logic of the Egyptian mortuary cultus. The deceased is identified with Osiris to the extent that the god's name is attached to his personal name, so that, for example, in the *Pyramid Texts* we have the deceased pharaoh Pepi addressed as Osiris Pepi, as centuries later in his copy of the *Book of the Dead* the scribe Ani is referred to as Osiris Ani [14]). This identification further found expression in ritual formulae in which were recapitulated the chief moments of the legend of Osiris. Thus in the following spell: "Recite; O Atum, it is thy son Osiris, whom thou hast caused to live and hast permitted to remain in life. He liveth, and this Unas (the dead pharaoh) also liveth, he dieth not, and this Unas also dieth not" [15]). Or to take two other examples even more directly designed to effect resurrection: "Recite, Wake up Osiris, wake up — O Pepi, stand up, be seated, shake the dust from thee!" [16]). "Recite, Wake up, (*nomen*), stand up, thou Weary One! Raise thyself, O God! God hath power over his body" [17]).

The *Pyramid Texts* contain no formal account of the myth of Osiris, but it is evident from them that it already constituted a well-established tradition in Egyptian religious thought. The *Texts* have many allusions to the chief moments of the myth, namely, the slaying of Osiris by his evil brother Set, his revivification through the action of Isis and Nephthys, Anubis and Horus, and Re, his accusation by Set before the tribunal of the gods and his ultimate vindication and the punishment of his accuser [18]). Now it is obvious, as the former quotations showed, that this Osirian *mythos* by the time of the composition of

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may have differed in their attitude towards death, but 'In einem Punkt sind beide jedoch ganz einig, da sie auf jeden Fall die Vernichtung und den Verfall des Körpers ablehnen. Ebenso oft wie der Tod selbst abgelehnt wird, wird die Möglichkeit eines Zugrundegehens oder Aufhörens des Körpers zurückgewiesen'.

14) Cf. VANDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 81; BONNET, *op. cit.*, p. 344b; H. FRANKFORT, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 197, 207-210; A. ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (Berlin u. Leipzig, 1934), pp. 218-9.

15) *Pyr.* 167, text in SETHE, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 93-4, trans. MERCER, *op. cit.*, pp. 63; SPELEERS, *op. cit.*, I, p. 16.

16) *Pyr.* 1068, text in SETHE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 91; trans. MERCER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185; SPELEERS, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73.

17) *Pyr.* 2092, text in SETHE, *op. cit.*, II, p. 510; trans. MERCER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 307; SPELEERS, *op. cit.*, I, p. 120.

18) *Pyr.* 972, 1256, 1500; 584, 1255-6, 1280-1, 1330, 1282, 1523, 167, 1503; 651, 956-961, 1556.

the *Pyramid Texts* already formed the *rationale* of the mortuary cultus. In short, the dead king was ritually assimilated in death to Osiris, so that he became one with Osiris in his new risen life [19]). In other words, Osiris was the divine saviour through whom release from the bonds of death was obtained. But there is also reason for thinking that this identification with Osiris extended, at least in suggestion, beyond participation in his resurrection. The most notable indication of this lies in the fact that the dead king is addressed in several passages as *maa kheru* 'just of voice', an epithet which, as we have already seen, had been conferred on Osiris at his vindication before the divine tribunal. There is indeed one passage in which it is significantly said of the pharaoh "He desires that he be *maa kheru* through that which he has done" [20]). Such a passage, as well as the use of the title *maa kheru* elsewhere, suggests that it was also believed that the dead king would recapitulate the experience of Osiris in having to undergo a judgment from which he would emerge victorious [21]).

Now this possibility raises two further questions. The first is: did this idea of a *post-mortem* judgment originally arise from the *mythos* of Osiris by virtue of the ritual identification of the dead king with Osiris for the achievement of resurrection? This means in effect, was the Egyptian concept of a *post-mortem* judgment for mankind first suggested by an incident in the story of Osiris? We have no means of answering with certainty either way, but the possibility that such might have been the case must be noted, and it must, moreover, be borne in

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19) Cf. VANDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2; BONNET, *op. cit.*, p. 344b; ERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 218. See also K. SETHE, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1930), 132, 138, 176.

20) *Pyr.* 316d: *imr.f mɜᶜḫrw m ỉrt.n.f*, in SETHE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 172 ('Er will, dass er gerechtfertigt werde in Bezug auf das, was er (selbst) gethan hat', *Übersetzung u. Kommentar*, I, p. 391); cf. trans. MERCER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 83; SPELEERS, *op. cit.*, I, p. 26.

21) Cf. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5; BONNET, *op. cit.*, p. 337b. J. SPIEGEL, *Das Werden der altägyptischen Hochkultur* (Heidelberg, 1953), p. 410, believes that the adoption of the title *maa kheru* in the *Pyramid Texts* marks the emergence of a new *Weltanschauung*: "Der Massstab der Rechtfertigung aber wird nun nicht mehr der irdischen Rechtsordnung entnommen, er ist autonom und kann in schärfsten Widerspruch zur irdischen Wertung treten." Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 411-2; VANDIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-6. It should be noted that the idea that the king should submit to a judgment after death made way against another tradition, which is amply attested in the *Pyramid Texts*, that the king would be a judge himself in the next world.

mind when considering, as we shall do presently, the significance of certain Old Kingdom sepulchral inscriptions which contain notable references to a *post-mortem* judgment [22]). The second question concerns the identity of the judge or judges before whom the dead king was thought to appear. In what seem to be the three most pertinent passages in the *Pyramid Texts* there is a variety of statement: Geb, the earth-god, is described as the spokesman of the gods against Set [23]); reference is made to the 'Two Truths' as judges, which is interesting in view of the fact that in the later *Book of the Dead* the Weighing of the Heart takes place in the 'Hall of the Two Truths' [24]); Anubis is given the title of the prince of the *ḏꜣḏꜣ·t,* which seems to mean 'the court of justice' [25]). However, although he is not named in these passages, Re, the sun-god, was clearly associated with righteousness and he is depicted as travelling in his two boats of *maat,* i.e. 'truth' [26]).

The conclusion at which we arrive then, after considering the evidence of the *Pyramid Texts,* is that Osiris was essentially the saviour-god through whom immortality or resurrection from death was sought [27]). The dead king expected to be judged and vindicated after, it would seem, the pattern of Osiris. This judgment took place before some kind of divine tribunal. On this evidence, therefore, Osiris appears primarily as saviour and not as judge; indeed he had himself been subject to judgment and his status had been determined by the verdict there given, namely, *maa kheru,* righteous or justified. We

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22) JUNKER, *op. cit.,* p. 82, rightly points out that *Pyr.* 892a indicates that a 'Privattotentext' underlies the royal formulae here. This fact would suggest the currency of a popular belief in a *post-mortem* judgment, but whether it was inspired by the Osirian legend cannot be known. The issue here would also be more certainly determined, if the date of the relevant private sepulchral inscriptions could be shown as being significantly prior to the passages in the *Pyramid Texts* concerned.

23) *Pyr.* 957b.

24) *Pyr.* 317a-b; on the passage, with its reference to tfn and tfn.t see MERCER, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p 150.

25) *Pyr.* 1713c, text in SETHE, *op. cit.,* II, p. 405.

26) *Pyr.* 1785b; cf. MERCER, *op. cit.,* vol. iii, p. 830 *in loc.*; BONNET, *op. cit.,* p. 433b.

27) "But in the few passages which have been quoted to prove the original nature of Osiris as the god of the Nile floods, it is not Osiris who is identified, or rather compared, with the Nile flood, but the dead king Unis", J. ČERNÝ, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, 1952), p. 85.

must notice, however, for future reference before passing on that there are two isolated passages in the *Pyramid Texts* in which Osiris is respectively called 'lord of heaven' [28]) and 'lord of *maat* (truth)' [29]) titles which would equate him with Re and invest him with the character of a judge.

In studies of the evolution of Egyptian ethical concepts considerable attention has been rightly given to certain funerary inscriptions which date from the late Old Kingdom or first Intermediate period and they have a particular significance for our subject. An early, but typical and comprehensive, example is the inscription which a man called Harkhuf, who lived at Elephantine in the twenty-sixth century B.C., placed upon his tomb: "I was ..... one (beloved) of his father, praised of his mother, whom all his brothers loved. I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, I ferried him who had no boat. O ye living who are upon earth [who shall pass this tomb whether] going down stream or going up-stream, who shall say, 'A thousand loaves, a thousand jars of beer for the owner of this tomb!' I will intercede for their sakes in the Nether World. I am a worthy and equipped Glorious One, a ritual priest whose mouth knows. As for any man who shall enter into (this) tomb as his mortuary possession, I will seize him like a wild fowl; he shall be judged for it by the Great God. I was one saying good things and repeating what was loved. Never did I say aught evil to a powerful one against anybody. I desired that it might be well with me in the Great God's presence" [30]). Now from our point of view this inscription contains two very interesting points. The first is contained in the threat against any violator of the tomb; the deceased Harkhuf warns any such that not only would he (Harkhuf) attack him, but that he would also be judged for his crime by 'the Great God' [31]). In other words, Harkhuf believed that this 'Great God' took notice of violations of right and punished them, but whether in this life or the next is not clear. The second point for us lies in Harkhuf's statement that he had conducted himself in charity and justice towards

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28) *Pyr.* 964a, 968a: *nb pt,* text in SETHE, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 38, 41.

29) *Pyr.* 1520a: *nb mɜᶜt,* text in SETHE, *op. cit.,* II, p. 323.

30) Translated by J. H. BREASTED, *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1912), pp. 169-170; text in K. SETHE, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches* (Leipzig, 1903), I, 122-3.

31) SETHE, *op cit.,* I, 122, line 16: *ntr ᶜɜ.*

his fellowmen, because he desired that it might be well with him in the Great God's presence [32]). Here we see that Harkhuf not only believed that the Great God would punish the crimes of other men, but that he would look favourably upon well-doing; however, again we cannot be certain whether this divine reward was expected in this life or the next, although the presumption from the logic of the inscription would be that it had a *post-mortem* significance. The reference to the 'Great God' here as judge is crucial. The reference is not unique, for in other sepulchral inscriptions of the same period there occur references in a similar context to the 'Great God, the lord of right', 'the God, the lord of heaven', 'the lord of the mountain-land, i.e. the necropolis', and to 'the Great God, the Lord of the West' [33]). The identity of the Great God is a puzzle. Most authorities think that it is a designation of Re, the sun-god, and in most instances this is undoubtedly so [34]), but the title 'the Great God', the lord of the West' could very well mean Osiris, for the 'West' was the realm of the dead. [35])

These inscriptions indicate that the idea of a judgment of mens' deeds by some supreme deity had already become commonly established and that it was probable that this judgment took place after death. No explicit reference is made in them to Osiris or his myth, although some authorities think that the mode of judgment envisaged is that of the defence of the deceased against claims which might be brought against him in the divine presence [36]), which process would be reminiscent of the charges brought by Set against Osiris. However, the next document for our consideration shows that by now the process of judgment had taken its more characteristic form of comparing a man's

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32) SETHE, *op. cit.*, I, 123, line 2: (some damage is indicated by the transcript) *mr* (sign?) (*n?*) *nfr rn ḫr ntr ᶜ3*. The characters *rn* might be translated 'name', as by BONNET, *op. cit.*, p. 335a: "Ich wünschte, dass mein Namen schön sei vor dem grossen Gott."

33) Cf. JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

34) Commenting upon this passage, KEES remarks: "Das passte gleich gut für die Zeit des Lebens auf Erden unter dem König als Hüter der Ordnung und für das Jenseits unter der Herrschaft des Sonnengottes oder des Osiris", *op. cit.*, p. 105. However, for the Heliopolitan period KEES thinks, *op. cit.*, p. 110, that the 'Great God' was Re, the sun-god. The 'Great God' is also identified with Re by JUNKER, *op. cit.*, p. 87 and by BREASTED, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-1, *Dawn of Conscience*, pp. 147-8. Cf. BONNET, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

35) Cf. BUDGE, *From Fetish to God*, p. 212.

36) Cf. KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

deeds. The document concerned is known as *The Instruction for King Meri-ka-re* and dates from the confused period that intervened between the Old and the Middle Kingdoms in Egypt [37]). At the beginning the king is warned: 'Thou shouldest be justified in the presence of the God' [38]). A little further on comes the pertinent passage: "The Council which judges the deficient, thou knowest that they are not lenient on that day of judging the miserable, the hour of doing (their) duty. It is woe when the accuser is one of knowledge [probably a reference to the scribe-god Thoth]. Do not trust in length of years, for they regard a lifetime as (but) an hour. A man remains over after death, and his deeds are placed before him in heaps. However, existence yonder is for eternity, and he who *complains* of it is a fool. (But) as for him who reaches it without wrong doing, he shall exist yonder like a god, stepping freely like the lord of eternity" [39]).

Several interesting points are contained in this passage. First we may note that the *post-mortem* judgment is conducted by a panel of judges, which is reminiscent of the tribunal of the gods before whom Osiris was judged; however, from the earlier reference to the necessity of the king's being justified 'in the presence of the god' it would appear that the judges act on behalf of this god, who is usually thought to be Re, the sun-god [40]). The process of judgment takes what seems to be a new form, namely, of setting out in opposing heaps a man's good and bad deeds. There is no reference to Osiris, in fact his saving grace is virtually denied by the statement that 'a man remains over after death', which seems to imply that survival of death is a natural characteristic of human nature and is not dependent upon divine agency.

Whether the evidence of this document in this latter respect is to be

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37) Cf. A. ERMAN, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (trans. A. M. BLACKMAN, London, 1927), p. 75.

38) ERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 75, n. 3, identifies this god with Osiris. According to JUNKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-8 "'du wirst in Gegenwart des Gottes gerechtfertigt werden', so ist unter dem Gott nicht Osiris zu verstehen, wie man vermutet hat, sondern der im Schlusschnitt genannte Gott, der hier deutlich als Licht- und Weltgott erscheint."

39) Translated by J. A. WILSON in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ed. J. B. PRITCHARD, Princeton, 1955), p. 415b; cf. ERMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8.

40) See n. 38 above, to which may be added WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 415, n. 10.

taken as representative of the general trend of Egyptian religious faith and practice may be doubted, for the so-called *Coffin Texts* which inform us of belief during the Middle Kingdom period (circa 2160-1580 B.C.) attest what Breasted has called the 'democratisation' of the royal funerary cultus of the Old Kingdom [41]). In these *Coffin Texts,* in which we do actually hear for the first time of 'the balances of Re, wherewith he weighs the truth' [42]), there now begins to appear the use of *maa kheru* as a formal designation of those for whom the prescribed funerary rites had been duly performed [43]). Moreover, Osiris now clearly emerges as the judge of the dead and reference is made to 'the Great Council (or court of justice) of Osiris [44]). Thus Osiris finally achieves his dual character of the saviour and judge of the dead, for the old practice of the ritual assimilation of the dead to the dying and rising god, which in the *Pyramid Texts* obtained for the king, continued for the benefit of all who could afford to be buried according to the Osirian rites. Accordingly, although the first pictorial representations of the Weighing of the Heart only appear in the Theban recension of the *Book of the Dead* in the New Kingdom period [45]), it is certain that the full complex of the Osirian mortuary cultus had been achieved long before, with Osiris as saviour and judge.

Before we finally attempt to answer our original question of how Osiris came to acquire these two contradictory rôles of saviour-god and divine judge, we must notice another piece of evidence which seems to bear on the issue.

It would appear that the heart gradually acquired a greater significance in Egyptian psychology. We may begin here by noticing a passage from the *Instruction of the Vizier Ptahhotep,* which is a writing dating from before 2000 B.C. It reads: "God loves the man who hears; one who heareth not God hates. It is the heart which makes its owner one who hears or one who hears not. The life, prosperity,

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41) *Development of Religion,* pp. xvii, 285 f.

42) Cf. BREASTED, *op. cit.,* p. 253.

43) Cf. BONNET, *op. cit.,* p. 337b; KEES, *op. cit.,* p. 229.

44) Cf. BREASTED, *op. cit.,* p. 255; KEES, *op cit.,* p. 229. KEES cites a Memphite text (*op. cit.,* p. 159), dating from the end of the Old Kingdom, which significantly attests the importance of Osiris in this connection: "Ein Opfer das der König gibt, ein Opfer, das *Osiris gibt, der grosse Gott, der Herr der Rechtigkeit*"; cf. *op. cit.,* p. 228; VANDIER, *op. cit.,* pp. 93-100.

45) BUDGE, *op. cit.,* p. 282.

and health of a man is his heart" [46]). Here the heart is being equated with a volitional force or faculty in the individual which determines the moral quality of his conduct, particularly in relation to God. Similar phrases of even greater significance occur in inscriptions: 'The heart of a man is his own god and my heart is satisfied with my deeds'; "Mayest thou spend eternity in gladness of heart, in the favour of the god that is in thee" [47]). It according appears that the Egyptians came almost to hypostatising the heart as an independent witness, within the individual, to the nature of his deeds — a concept exceeding that of the Christian idea of the conscience. This process found ultimate expression in the spell which appears as Chapter XXX in the *Book of the Dead* and which was inscribed on the heart scarab, one of the most important of the many magical amulets which were placed on the corpse during the ritual of embalment [48]). The spell took the form of an appeal by the dead man to his heart not to witness against him at the judgment: "Heart of my mother! Heart of my form! Come not against me as a witness; oppose me not in the judgment! Practice not thy emnity against me before the master of the balance! Thou art my *ka,* which is in my body; Chnum, who fashioneth my members....." [49]) Many authorities have regarded this spell as manifest evidence of the way in which magic was used in the Osirian funerary ritual to circumvent those ethical values which had been respected in an earlier age [50]). Seen, however, in the context of the developing importance of the heart in Egyptian psychology, which we have been tracing, the spell has quite a different significance. It witnesses rather to the deeply increased awareness of Egyptians in the New Kingdom

46) Text in K. SETHE, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 40, ll. 3-5; trans. ERMAN, *op. cit.,* p. 64; WILSON, *op. cit.,* p. 414a.

47) Cf. BREASTED, *Dawn of Conscience,* pp. 254-5. A. PIANKOFF, *Le 'Coeur' dans les Textes égyptiennes* (Paris, 1930), pp. 84-5, cites some lines from the so-called *Complaints of the Peasant* in which the heart constitutes part of a metaphor for the act of weighing, i.e. giving judgment: "Ta langue c'est l'aiguille de la balance, ton cœur c'est le poids, tes deux lèvres c'est son fléau". Cf. BONNET, *op. cit.,* ("Gott im Menschen"), pp. 225 f.

48) Cf. E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Mummy* (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 289-298. One of the oldest examples of the heart-scarab is that of Sebekemsaf (13/17 Dyn.); cf. KEES, *op. cit.,* p. 275.

49) Cf. G. ROEDER, *Urkunden zur Religion der Alten Ägypter* (Jena, 1923), p. 254; Piankoff, *op. cit.,* pp. 80-3.

50) E.g., BREASTED, *Dawn of Conscience,* pp. 263-4; KEES, *op. cit.,* pp. 274-5; JUNKER, *op. cit.,* p. 100; ČERNÝ, *op. cit.,* pp. 90-1.

period of the reality of the *post-mortem* judgment — they believed, in other words, that at this judgment the very secrets of their hearts would be revealed. That they did seek the help of magic in facing this ordeal is proof rather of their fear lest they should fail it than of their confidence that they could circumvent it. If we refer again to the Judgment Scene in the *Papyrus of Ani,* the posture of the dead man as he awaits the weighing of his heart is eloquent; although he recites the spell, it is obvious that at the fateful moment he has no real confidence in its power to change the verdict of the scales.

It would appear then that far from the Osirian Judgment of the Dead representing a declension from an earlier moral standard, it actually witnesses to a greatly deepened sensitivity to moral demands. Now, herein perhaps may lie the key to the solution of the problem of Osiris' assumption of the double rôle of saviour and judge.

As we have seen, the original significance of Osiris lay in the Egyptians' exceeding fear of death: Osiris was their assurance of immortality, or more precisely perhaps, of resurrection from death. While the fear of death was the chief impetus behind their mortuary faith and practice, Osiris was thus essentially the saviour. At the stage in their religious development represented by the *Pyramid Texts* and the other tomb inscriptions, which we have noticed, they also believed in a *post-mortem* judgment and in the case of the pharaoh it would seem that the legend of Osiris' trial had been effective in its suggestion in this context, at least so far as the attribution of the Osirian title of *maa kheru* was concerned. However, at this stage it would appear that attention was primarily concentrated on salvation from the terrors of death; the idea of a judgment after death held only a secondary place. In process of time, as we have seen, concern about a *post-mortem* test steadily grew until it caused such agony of mind as finds expression in Chapter XXX of the *Book of the Dead* and in the fateful drama of the Weighing of the Heart. Now this concern seems to have developed *pari passu* with the democratisation of the Osirian mortuary cultus; this meant that its general significance increased at the same time as the prospect of a *post-mortem* judgment was becoming an issue of more urgent concern. It is accordingly understandable that as part of this dual process Osiris gradually came to occupy men's minds as the one great being with whom they would have to do after death. Hence he came to supersede Re or the other gods as the judge of the dead.

The incompatability of this character with that of divine saviour was probably not felt, owing to the fact that Osiris became the focus of that ambivalent attitude which the Egyptians gradually acquired towards death, namely, fear of the disintegrating process of death itself and apprehension about the trial which would determine their lot in the next life—an apprehension, it must be noted, which necessarily presupposed their survival of death. That Osiris was able to oust the sun-god from the office of judge was also probably greatly helped by his essential humanity, because it is notable that Osiris, in contradistinction to the other gods, was always conceived anthropomorphically [51])—his silent mummiform figure presiding over the Weighing of the Heart was calculated to invest that drama with greater reality than when the judge was pictured as a man with a hawk's head, such as Re was depicted in the traditional iconography.

This process whereby Osiris acquired the contradictory rôles of saviour and judge affords an interesting parallel to that whereby in Christian thought Christ also came to be regarded as saviour and judge. The main lines of the development of Christian belief in this respect can only be summarily stated here for comparison. The Pauline doctrine of Baptism, as set forth in the *Epistle to the Romans,* presents Christ as the divine saviour by ritual assimilation to whom in his death new life might be obtained. As Paul writes we seem to hear an amazing re-echo of the Osirian hope: "We are buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with him by the likeness of his death, we shall be also by the likeness of his resurrection [52]). In the scheme of Christian soteriology, which finds its beginnings in the thought of Paul, Christ is, therefore, essentially the saviour from death, however that death be conceived. But in the apocalyptic tradition which Christianity inherited from Judaism there was the concept of the

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51) Osiris was represented symbolically in the form of the *djed*-column. In his extensive selection of examples of the iconography of Osiris in his *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection,* vol. i, BUDGE gives only one representation of Osiris with an animal's head (p. 50), and this probably depicts his assimilation to Sokar.

52) *Rom.* vi, 4-5. "The act of baptism was an act of *incorporation* into Christ", W. SANDAY and A. C. HEADLAM, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Edinburgh, 1900). p. 156. Cf. M. GOGUEL, *L'Église primitive* (Paris, 1947), pp. 320-4.

divine judge before whom all mankind must ultimately stand trial. This eschatology seems to have originated in the concept of the 'day of Yahweh', when Yahweh would intervene catastrophically in human affairs to vindicate his cause [53]). The elaboration of the Messianic hope, however, caused the Messiah to be regarded as the chief divine agent in the eschatological drama [54]), and when this hope passed over into Christianity the Messiah, i.e. Christ, became himself the Judge at the Final Assize [55]). It is possible that this eschatology was also inspired by some feeling that Christ should exact retribution for his rejection and crucifixion. But, however that may be as to cause, Christ finally emerged in Christian thought in the contradictory rôles of the god who saves from eternal death and the judge who may condemn to eternal damnation in a manner curiously reminiscent of that in which Osiris had become saviour and judge in Egypt some twenty centuries before.

We may perhaps best conclude our discussion of the problem which the Osirian judgment of the dead constitutes by noticing two later pieces of evidence which witness to the continuance of the cult of Osiris as a moral force in Egypt. At the beginning of the Ptolemaic period a tomb was erected for a priest named Petosiris and in its inscription the following significant statement occurs: "The West (i.e. the realm of Osiris) is the abode of those without fault. Happy is he who arrives there! There is no distinction there between rich and poor; he only counts who is found to be without fault when the balance and its burdens stand before the Lord of Eternity. None escapes from his verdict, when Thoth as the Ape sits upon the balance to make a reckoning with each according to what he has done on earth [56])."

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53) Cf. W. O. E. OESTERLEY and T. H. ROBINSON, *Hebrew Religion* (London, 1930), pp. 342 f.

54) In Jewish literature the Messiah does not seem himself to have been regarded as the judge at the Final Judgment, but rather as God's agent who ordered the series of events wich culminated in that ultimate event; cf. CH. GUIGNEBERT, *Le Monde juif vers le temps de Jésus* (Paris, 1935), pp. 181-2; E. SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig, 1898), II, pp. 551-3; S. MOWINCKEL, *He That Cometh* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 312-3.

55) Cf. R. H. CHARLES, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life* (London, 1913), pp. 392-4, 415, 433-4.

56) Cf. BONNET, *op. cit.*, p. 340; S. SUYS, *Vie de Petosiris* (Bruxelles, 1921), p. 135. On the religious significance of the tomb of Petosiris see ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter,* pp. 339-344.

Quite clearly this priest Petosiris conceived of the fateful judgment in terms of the same imagery as had found expression some nine hundred years or more before in the *Papyrus of Ani*. The second instance is provided by a papyrus of the second century A.D. which preserves what appears to be a much older parabolic tale [57]). The scene is laid in Memphis, where a prince named Satmi and his son Senosiris one day witness two funerals. The one is the sumptuous affair of a rich man and the other the squalid disposal of a poor man, both of whom had died about the same time. As they watch the proceedings, Satmi is surprised and alarmed when his son, who has more than human insight, expresses the wish that when his father dies he will be like the poor man. To explain this queer statement, the child takes his father into the next world rather as in a later age Virgil was to guide Dante on his tour of the Christian hereafter. In the seventh hall of Amenti, i.e. of Osiris, the ruler of the dead, they behold the traditional judgment scene—the only difference being that instead of the heart of the dead being weighed against the feather of Maat, it is his good deeds which are thus assessed. Next, a man arrayed in fine linen and standing near to Osiris is identified as the poor man whom they had seen being carried out of Memphis to his wretched burial, while the rich man is found horribly tormented. Senosiris explains to his wondering father that the good deeds of the poor man had so far outweighed his bad deeds that he had been given a place of high dignity and Osiris had decreed that he should be endowed with the funeral equipment of the rich man, who had been condemned for his injustice.

Although these two examples cannot be taken as witnessing to the faith of the majority in Egypt over this long period, it is nevertheless evident that the Osirian mortuary cult inspired a high ethical tradition which was treasured at least by some Egyptians right down to the beginning of the present era [58]).

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57) Translated by G. MASPERO in *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1915), pp. 144-170. Cf. BONNET, *op. cit.*, p. 340b; F. Ll. GRIFFITH, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford, 1900), pp. 44-50.

58) See the representation of the Judgment Scene from the pyramid of Arkenkherel at Meroë witnessing to the currency of the belief outside Egypt proper in the period (A.D. 100-300), in BUDGE, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, facing p. 344.

Accordingly, it does not appear that the influence of Osirianism perverted the higher ethical practice of earlier times. Indeed, to the contrary, it would seem that for more than two thousand years Osiris succeeded in focussing the Egyptians' desire for the assurance of immortality and their ethical consciousness in his dual character of saviour-god and judge of the dead.

ON THE CONCEPT OF *HIJIRI* (HOLY-MAN)

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INTRODUCTION

Hijiri means "holy-man" or "sacred-man" [1]). In Japanese religious history the *Hijiri*-groups were originally the reformers of institutionalized Buddhism and leaders of popular movements in Buddhism. As the movements of *Hijiri*-groups became more widespread, they produced some of the most influential and widely-acclaimed Buddhist priests and magicians as well as magico-religious reciters, performers and players. In this paper, however, I shall discuss the problem of the so-called *Hijiri* from the viewpoint of the history of religions. My

1) Cf. G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation,* London, 1938, Part II, A "The Sacred Man", p. 191-241.

purpose is to clarify some aspects of the characteristics of Japanese popular Buddhism which have had a far-reaching influence on the spiritual life of Japanese people from ancient to modern times.

Etymological and Typological Analysis

The original meaning of the word *Hijiri* in Japanese was presumably the honorific name for the charismatic leader of shamans or medicine-men in pre-historic ages. It literally means a man of great knowledge (*shiri*) concerning the calendar or the movement of heavenly bodies symbolized by "sun" or "day" (*hi*). In Chinese also, the character of the word which signifies "wisdom" or "wise-man" (智) consists of a composite character with the *chih* (知) (knowledge) and *jih* (日) (sun or day) in the same way as Japanese *Hijiri.*

The concept of *Hijiri* gradually developed several meanings under the impact of Chinese Confucianism and Taoism—an impact felt not only by the upper classes of Japanese society, but also among the immigrants from Korea. Furthermore, the Taoistic and Confucian concepts of *hsien, shêng-hsien* and *shêng-jen* were introduced into Japan and merged with the ancient Japanese concept of *Hijiri.*

Certain early usages of *Hijiri* strongly suggest the themes of sacred magic kingship, such as are found among ancient Egyptian kings like Amenhotep and Pharaoh, or the Roman Imperium [2]). These meanings are probably closely related to the Chinese Confucianist concept of *shêng-tien-tzu,* "a wise and virtuous Son of Heaven, emperor". In such ancient sources as "Kojiki [3])", "Nihongi" [4]), and "Manyô-shû" [5]), this

2) Cf. G. VAN DER LEEUW, *op. cit.* pp. 115-127.

3) *Kojiki* is one of the oldest written Japanese mythology. Under the Imperial decree of Emperor Tenmu (reigned 673-686) this was compiled by Oh-no-Yasumaro and Hiéda-no-Aré. The latter was a professional reciter of the extra-ordinary memory that he could repeat with his mouth whatsoever his eyes saw, and remember in his heart whatsoever struck his ears. He was chosen by the Imperial commission and commanded to commit to memory the genealogies of the Emperors and the true traditions as they were ascertained. After the Emperor's death, Empress Genmyô then issued a decree commanding Oh-no-Yasumaro to write down such of the ancient lore as had been memorized by Hiéda-no-Aré. The manuscript was completed probably in the year 712. This is the *Kojiki* or *Furu-koto-bumi* (Records-of-Ancient-Matters), and it is the prime scripture of the Shinto. It is written in quasi-Chinese, but largely phonetically, Chinese ideographs being used to represent the Japanese sounds, and was first printed from manuscript copies preserved by the Shinto priesthood, in 1644. It brings the story of the race down to the year 628.

word was used as an euphemism for the Emperor. Emperors were sometimes celebrated by the court poets and courtiers for their holiness as *Hijiri*, i.e., *Hijiri-no-Kimi* (My Lord who is a *Hijiri*) and their reign, *Hijiri-no-Mi-yo* (Reign ruled by a Lord who is a *Hijiri*), and their crown prince, *Hijiri-no-Mi-ko* (Sacred son of *Hijiri*) [6].

Another meaning appears in the legends concerning the mysterious Eternal Land beyond the sea (*Tokoyo*). The imaginary residents of this land were given the name *Hijiri*, in this case to denote semi-gods or genii. This usage also reflected the Taoistic concept of *hsien*. The famous legends of Urashima-no-ko, who later became the most popular hero in the folk-tales known as "Urashima-tarô", and of Tajima-mori, founder of the ancient and powerful immigrant clan from Korea, contain such usages of the word *Hijiri* [7]. We also find the term used

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4) According to the "*Sacred Scriptures of the Japanese*" by Post WHEELER, New York, 1952, the *Nihongi* is that meantime the compilation begun under the Emperor Tenmu remained, except for the portion used in the *Kojiki*, unutilized. During the reign of the Empress Jitô (687-696), further material had been collected, and in the reign of the Empress Genmyô, who assisted the work of the commission by the appointment of additional literary editors, the resultant accumulation was compiled in the so-called *Kana-Nihongi* (Syllabled-Chronicles-of-Japan). The compilation was then submitted to Prince Toneri... Their joint revision, which was completed in 720, is known as the *Nihongi* (Written-Chronicles-of-Japan). It consists of thirty-one volumes, thirty of which are extant. This work was written not in the ancient Japanese characters but in Chinese, then the classic tongue, and the legends have unmistakably been tampered with, presumably to make them conform more nearly to the newer standard of culture that had been introduced with the Chinese language and literature. While the subject matter of this compilation is the same as that of the *Kojiki*, the older material is amplified and re-classified, and the whole recital is perceptibly tinctured with Chinese philosophy. Some few legends are omitted and others added, while variants are given of the main episodes. It continues the story down to the year 697 (p. xxiii-xxiv).

5) *Manyô-shû* is the oldest offcially compiled anthology of Japanese poem, *waka*, which was and is a most popular form of Japanese poem, having 31 syllables. This anthology was presumably compiled by Yakamochi Ohtomo at the end of Nara or the beginning of the Heian Period, the end of the eight century.

6) *Kojiki*, chap. III; *Nihongi*, chap. VI; *Manyô-shû*, chap. I, no. 29-30, etc.

7) For example, in *Nihongi*, there is a story as follows: The Emperor Suinin commanded Tajimamori to go to the Eternal Land (*Tokoyo-no-Kuni*) overseas and get the fragrant fruit that grew out of season, now called the *tachibana* (a kind of mandarin orange). After the Emperor's death, he returned from the Eternal Land, weeping and lamenting, and said: "...This Eternal Land, is no other than the mysterious realm of *Hijiri* (gods and genii) to which ordinary mortals cannot attain..." (chap. VI: Ref. to the translation by ASTON: *Nihongi*, London, 1896. Vol. I, p. 186-187). Another example, also in *Nihongi* (chap. XIV): "A

to denote persons who had attained a consummate skill in games or arts. For instance, Kanren, a masterhand at the game of *Go* (Japanese checkers) and a teacher of Emperor Daigo (898-930), was called the *Go-hijiri* [8]). Still another example appears in the preface to the "Kokin-shû" Anthology [9]), compiled by Tsurayuki Ki, where a famous poet of the early Nara Period, Hitomaro Kaki-no-moto, is given the title *Hijiri-of-Waka, waka* being a well-known form of Japanese poetry [10]). Sometimes *saké* (a Japanese rice wine) was called *Hijiri,* and the son of Bacchus, *Hijiri-of-Saké.* This was evidently suggested by *chiu-hsien* in the Chinese poetry of the early Tang Dynasty, as represented by the outstanding poets Li Po and Tu Fu [11]).

The concept of *Hijiri* which I shall discuss in this paper is different from all of these, however. It refers to a group of religious reformers who disregarded the existing ecclesiastical orders and institutions of their time and endeavored to establish *outside the structures of Buddhist orthodoxy* a real religious life for the common people. They emphasized religious attitudes and inner piety, and distributed the Buddha's gospel among the masses, following the principle of Mahâyâna Buddhism (the Way of Bodhisattva, or *Bosatsu-dô*).

This movement appeared first in the late Nara Period (about the latter part of the eighth century) with the emergence of the *Ubasoku-zenji* (*upasaka*-ascetic or *upasaka*-magician). These were unauthorized and private Buddhist ascetics and persons who were able to achieve by a superhuman power that which was far beyond the ordinary. The movement continued to develop during the Heian Period (784-1185),

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man of Tsutsu-kawa in the District of Yosa in the Province of Tamba (Taniwa), the child of Urashima of Midzunoé, went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima's child fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went down together into the sea and reached the Eternal Land (Tokoyo) where they saw the *Hijiri (genii).*" (Ref. to ASTON, *op. cit.,* p. 368).We find this legend in *Manyô-shû* too. Later this became one of the most famous and popular folk-tales, named *"Urashima-tarô".*

8) *Oh-kagami,* chap. I; *Yamato-monogatari,* chap. I; *Nichû-reki,* chap. IV, "Mei-jin", etc.

9) *Kokin-shû* is the second officially compiled anthology succeeding to the *Manyô-shû.* This was compiled by Tsurayuki Ki in the reign of Emperor Daigo.

10) *Waka* is a very popular form of Japanese verse, having 31 syllables.

11) *Manyô-shû,* chap. V. These poems were composed by Tabito Ohtomo who was a rather of Yakamochi Ohtomo, the compiler of *Manyô-shû* Anthology.

when these same types of ascetics came to be known as *Hijiri* or "holy-men", and a greater emphasis was laid upon their training and strict discipline. The literature of this period is rich with references to these humble ascetics. For example, in "Eiga-monogatari" [12]) we can find such sentences as, "He (Korenari) was training in the Buddhist practices with more laudable aim than the normal *Hijiri*-group". Again, in the chapter of "*Hashi-himé*" in "Genji-monogatari" [13]) there is an episode in which the young prince named Hachi-no-Miya who entered the Way of Buddha and continued his Buddhist training with firm faith and strict practice, was called a *Zoku-hijiri* (a lay-*hijiri*) by his friends and courtiers, because he had not yet entered the Buddhist priesthood regularly. In about 1004 or after, a paper entitled "Mikawa Zoku-hijiri Kishô Jûni-ka-jô" (The Twelve Personal Contracts for Being a Zoku-hijiri) was written by one of the disciples of Jakushin-*hijiri* who was one of the forerunners of the *Hijiri* movement [14]). Moreover, there are several historical documents and legends which describe the behavior in mountains, isolated forests and peninsulas of many *Hijiri* other than authentic monastery priests [15]).

Historical Analysis

Japanese Buddhism in its present form is the product of a long historical process; and in studying this development, one must view it within the context of a complex religious scene, which had a long history prior to the introduction of Buddhism. At the time of the official recognition of Buddhism in Japan by Prince Regent Shôtoku in 593 A.D., the nation had been undergoing a great spiritual-cultural

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12) The *Eiga-monogatari* is a narrative which described the historical development and attainment of prosperity and glory of the Fujiwara Family centering around Michinaga (996-1027).

13) *Genji-monogatari* is "The Tale of Genji", originally written by Lady Murasaki who lived in the same age as Michinaga Fujiwara.

14) This paper was written in order to teach the norm of life attitude for the so-called *Zoku-Hijiri* (lay *Hijiri*, or *upâsaka-Hijiri*). The author was supposedly Jakujô (962-1034) who was a former governor of Aichi Prefecture and became a typical leader of the *Nembutsu Zoku-Hijiri* group under the influence of Kûya, Jakushin and Genshin. See the later sections.

15) Cf. *Eiga-monogatari,* chap. XXXIX; *Shô-yû-ki* Diary (of a noble of the Fujiwara Family in the same age as Michinaga); *Genji-monogatari,* chap. "Waka-murasaki"; *Makura-no-Sôshi* written by Lady Sei-shônagon who was a famous essayist and also a contemporary of Lady Murasaki.

upheaval. China was rising to political-cultural eminence in the Far East under the Sui and Tang dynasties. Great numbers of immigrants were pouring into Japan from China and Korea, bringing the learning, skills and religion from the Asiatic mainland. The great extent of this influence is indicated by an official record named "Shin-sen Shôji Roku" [16]), which reveals that in the ninth century one-third of the leading families were naturalized Chinese and Koreans. The ancient theocratic clan system was breaking down under the new forces that were assailing the nation, and the people were ready to look at an alien religion for their spiritual foundations.

Prince Shôtoku (574-621), statesman and religious thinker, played a significant role in shape Japanese Buddhism, his influence extending far beyond the bounds of his lifetime. Under him Buddhism developed into a religion of the aristocracy with strong lay leadership. At the same time, Shôtoku's emphasis on the Lotus Sûtra promoted a social consciousness that encompassed all classes. The Lotus Sûtra' promise to salvation for all mankind was in sharp contrast with the pre-Buddhistic Shamanistic folk-beliefs which, with its dual class of gods corresponding to the dual social class of the ancient Japanese society, offered life in the hereafter to the ruling families such as the Imperial and noble families. This social concern was expressed in the building of temples which served as center of philanthropic and cultural activities. Shi-tennô-ji Temple in Osaka City, for example, served as a cultural center for the foreign visitors in that city as well as a center for social welfare activities [17]). A few years after the death of Prince Shôtoku, the Taika Reformation (645) actualized some of his principles.

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16) *Shinsen-Shôji-roku* (Newly Selected Records of Family Titles and Names) compiled in 815 A.D. by imperial order. There were 326 powerful *Ban-betsu* Families who were naturalized foreigners among 1,065 noble class families around the Imperial Court which were divided into three groups, *Kô-betsu* (335) who were believed the cadet families of princely lines, *Shin-betsu* (404) whose members were believed to be descended from the mythical gods who founded the country, and *Ban-betsu.*

17) *Jôgû-Shôtoku-Hôô-Tei-setsu*; *Nihongi*, chap. XXII; HORI, Ichiro: *Wagakuni Minkan-shinkô-shi no Kenkyû* (A Study of the History of Folk-Religion in Japan), Tokyo, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 157-161; 165-170. Shitennô-ji Temple has had four centers of social services: a charity hospital, a charity dispensary, an orphanage and an old people's home. These were the first public social services of the Buddhist temple in Japan.

During the eighth century, known as the Nara Period, Buddhism developed as a state church in Japan, in spite of the saintly evangelist-reformer Gyogi [18]) and others who were concerned with the masses. He and his followers must have been the most active forerunners of the *Hijiri* movement. In the main, the so-called Six Schools of Nara [19]) were philosophic and scholaristic in their emphasis.

The next stage of Japanese history, known as the Heian Period (784-1185), shows a remarkable contrast to the Buddhist schools of Nara. Politically, the transfer of the capital from Nara to Kyoto brought about a new mood, one factor for the transfer being to separate

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18) Gyôgi (670?-749) was an outstanding leader of popular Buddhism in the Nara Period. He endeavored to popularize Buddhism for the common people by his easily understandable teachings and by his several kinds of public services done in the Buddhist spirit, such as the foundation of a charity hopital, a charity dispensary, an orphanage and an old people's home; or as excavations of canals for navigation and for irrigation; the building of irrigation ponds; bridge constructions; harbar constructuions in the Inland Sea near Osaka and Kobe; free clinics; free lodging houses and so on. All of these institutions and projects were managed by his disciples who lived in small seminaries named *Dôjô* near the projects. According to the authentic biography in "*Shoku Nihongi*" (the second official historical record succeeded by *Nihongi* edited from 697 to 791), he was called a *Bosatsu* (Bodhisattva) by the masses even while he lived. He was an *upâsaka* for a long time. Then in 745 Emperor Shômu (701-756), applauding his virtue and religious personality as well as his enterprises, elected him to the rank of *Dai-sô-jô* (a highest archbishop). He built 49 *dôjô* (seminaries) around the capital for the purposes mentioned above. His death in 749 at the age of eighty was greatly lamented by the nation as well as by the Emperor. See *Shoku-Nihongi,* chap. XVII. Also Hori: *op. cit.,* 1955, Vol. I, pp. 256-293.

19) The six Buddhist schools in the Nara Period were (1) *Sanron* School (Madhyamaka or Middle Doctrine School; San-'un in China). Introduced by Korean missionary Ekan in 625 A.D. (2) *Jôjitsu* School, based on Harvarman's *Satyasiddhi Sâstra* and affiliated with the *Sanron* School. *Chêng-shis* in China. Introduced by Ekan. (3) *Hossô* School Yôgacâra School founded by Asanga and his brother Vasubandhu. *Fa-hsiang* School in China. Introduced by Dôshô (628-700), a Japanese priest who studied under Hsüan-tsang, founder and transmitter of this sect from India. Then, by Chitsû and Chitatsu in 658 and by Genbô (—746). (4) Kusha School. Kôśa School based on the *Abhidharma-kôśa-śâsra* written by Vasubandhu. Chû-shê in China. Buddhist Hînayâna Realism. An outgrowth of the Sautrântika branch of Sarvâstivâda. Brought to Japan by Chitsu and Chitatsu in 658 and again by Genbô in 735. This was affiliated with the *Hossô* School. (5) *Kegon* School. Avatansaka. *Hua-yen* in China. Brought to Japan by Shinshô (Shen-hsiang) and Ryôben in 736. This was founded by Fa-tsang (643-712), the Great Master of Hsien-shou in China. The main tenet of this school's doctrine is universal causation by the *Dharma-dhâtu* (the World of Law). (6) *Ritsu* School. Disciplinary or Vinaya School. Lü in Chinese. Introduced by Dôsen (702-760) and Ganjin (688-763).

church and state. Religiously, two new schools of Buddhism came to dominate throughout the period: Tendai and Shingon.

The Tendai School was established by Saichô or Dengyô Daishi (767-822). Saichô, following the example of Prince Shôtoku and Gyôgi, aspired to develop an indigenous form of Buddhism. While his doctrine was based on the teaching of the T'ien-t'ai School which he studied in China, he also incorporated other systems such as Zen (dhyâna), Vinaya and Mantrayâna. His syncretistic system centered around the doctrine of the Lotus Sûtra, philosophically, theologically and practically. The center of Tendai learning was at Mount Hiei, which later produced outstanding leaders of Japanese Buddhism such as Honen and Shinran, leaders of the Pure-Land School; Eisai and Dogen of the Zen Schools; and Nichiren, founder of the nationalistic Buddhist School.

The Shingon School was established by Kûkai or Kôbô Daishi (774-835). Kûkai studied Mantrayâna, known as the Chen-yen School in China, and transplanted it into Japan as the Shingon School. He, too, incorporated insights of other schools but his central focus was the Great Sun Sûtra, which teaches that the phenomenal world is a manifestation of the only ultimate reality known as the Great Sun-Buddha (Mahâ-Vairocana).

Kûkai and Saichô were different in temperament, but they were both great thinkers and statesmen, as well as social reformers. While their aim was to establish a national, i.e., indigenous religion, they tried to reach the masses without ignoring the upper strata of society. This motivation explains, in part, the close connection between Heian Buddhism and Shinto, the native, pre-Buddhist Japanese folk-belief.

Although Kûkai and to some extent Saichô articulated the pattern of co-existence between Buddhism and Shinto during the Heian Period, this was a logical development of a practice that traced as far back as the Nara Period. For example, when the government built provincial and prefectural ttmples during the Nara Period, they could not ignore the Shinto deities who were worshipped by the masses in each locality. In many cases, Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines shared the same "sacred" or "holy" places. Despite the Buddhist philosopher's teaching to the contrary, there was no question in the minds of the masses that Buddhism and Shinto were two supplementary systems. Gradually, even Buddhist priests began to accept the popular notion that Japanese

Shinto deities were incarnations of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. I might add that the co-existence pattern was taken for granted from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries.

Under such historical circumstances, the group of *Hijiri* gradually came into existence in the middle of the Heian Period, succeeding the movements of Gyôgi and the *upâsaka*-ascetics in the mountains in the Nara Period. Saichô and Kûkai criticized the city-temple form which characterized Nara Buddhism and built their own head temple on Mount Hiei and Mount Kôya, where they undertook to educate disciples in their particular manner under the isolated and secluded circumstances of the mountaintemples. Saichô, especially, criticized rigorously the situation of the authentic official high priests and their temples in Nara, which had already lost their own religious consciousness and functions, and had fallen from grace into the aristocracy and secularism. Nevertheless, in spite of the intentions and efforts of the founders of the Tendai and Shingon Schools, their successors in later ages became more and more aristocratic and secularistic with the passing of time.

The rise of *Hijiri*-groups in the middle of the Heian Period seems to have been a movement of religious reformation which aimed at the development of the Way of Bodhisattva (*Bosatsu-dô*) by the *upâsaka*-istic and anti-secularistic religious forms. The attributes of the original *Hijiri*-groups were something like those of the religious anchorites or hermits who, hiding themselves among the masses, resisted on the one hand the actual religious authorities, and on the other hand, insisted on the authority of the oblates to the salvation of the masses. Consequently, the so-called original *Hijiri* as a group name in Japanese religious history is not a pure successor or variation of the ancient or primitive medicine-man, sacred king, possessed man, or angel, terms which are defined by the words "Sacred" or "Holy-man" [20]).

The movement of *Hijiri*-groups, however, was suddenly promoted and popularized by the flourishing of the belief in *goryô*. The so-called Heian Period was characterized by the Shamanistic belief in spirits of all kinds — benevolent and malevolent. If the aristocrats had an articulate notion of the relationship of Shinto and Buddhism, the masses had very little sense of discrimination in such matters. The man on the street accepted all kinds of beliefs derived not only from Buddhism and

20) Cf. G. VAN DER LEEUW: *op. cit.*, pp. 191-241.

Shinto, but from Taoism, Confucianism and the more primitive, native Japanese animistic superstitions. This type of thinking gradually penetrated upward, even to the Imperial court. Unusual events such as political change, civil war, epidemic, famine, drought, earthquake, thunder-storm, typhoon, and so on, as well as difficult delivery, disease, and death were believed to be the workings of the spirits.

The first co-mingling of primitive Shamanism with Yin-yang magic and Mantrayâna Buddhism appeared in the latter part of the Nara Period and developed rapidly in the Heian Period. This, I believe, was due to three factors: (1) the introduction of Mantrayâna Buddhism from China by Saichô and Kûkai in 805, and 806, which was received by the people with open arms; (2) the movement of *Hijiri,* which denied the orthodox ecclesiastic system and insisted on the establishment of a real religious life and the distribution of the Buddha's gospel and salvation to the common people outside of that system; (3) the appearance of the *goryô* or belief in *goryô-shin,* which originally consisted of a belief in the malevolent or angry spirits of noble persons who died in political tragedies or intrigues.

The historical cohesion of these three factors brought about the rise of *Upâsaka-ism.* From this point three major streams came into existence in the religious world as the differentiation and development of the *Hijiri*:

(1) *Nembutsu* — based on Buddhist Pure-Land School
(2) *Shugen-dô* — based on Buddhist Mantrayâna School, mixed with Shinto Shamanism
(3) *Onmyo-dô* — based on Yin-yang School, mixed with Shinto Shamanism

I will discuss the first two to illustrate my point.

The term *Nembutsu* has philosophical and religious connotations in Buddhism in terms of the recitation of the name of Amitabha Buddha (*Namu-Amida-Butsu*) which enables men to reach the Western Paradise or Pure Land. This belief was originally founded by Hui-yüan in 334-416 A.D. in China, then introduced into Japan by several Buddhist priests in the Nara Period. In the early Heian Period, Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), one of the disciples of Saichô, brought it back to Japan as a branch of the Tendai sect. Afterwards this belief was articulated by the Tendai priest Kûya for the salvation of illiterate common people who could not understand the lofty Buddhist philosophy. However, this

religious belief quickly degenerated into a superstitious magical incantation against the malevolent spirits of the dead (*goryô*). As such the *Nembutsu* magic was widespread and began to undercut the basic core of Buddhism itself. Later, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Genku (Honen Shônin), Shinran and Chishin (Ippen Shônin) attempted to purify and re-systematize the Pure-Land belief. Even today the Pure-Land Schools are the most flourishing and influential. The total number of temples and adherents of the four sects of the Pure-Land School (Yuzû-Nembutsu, Jôdo, Jôdo-shin and Ji) represents 40.6 % of the temples and 37.9 % of the adherents of all sects, the other parts being represented by about nine sects, including Tendai, Shingon, Nichiren and the three sects of Zen Buddhism.

In contrast to *Nembutsu* magic which was negative in character, warding off the malevolent spirits, the *Shugen-dô* was positive. Originally it was one form of Buddhist Mantrayâna asceticism, often practiced in the mountains, which was believed to enable the ascetic to attain magical superhuman power against the evil spirits. In the course of time, the mountain ascetics incorporated Chinese Taoist beliefs and practices, and formulated a widespread school of its own. For all practical purposes *Shugen-dô* became a sub-sect, both to Tendai and Shingon, and fed into these schools magical beliefs and practices. A significant development in *Shugen-dô* was the role played by female shamans known as *mi-ko*. These female shamans, by the suggestion of the magical spells, fell into trances and became possessed by the unseen spirits who communicated their grievances and prophecies through these female shamans. Though they had formally belonged to the Buddhist sects and practiced the Buddhist prayers and magic according to the Mantrayâna *sûtras* and *tantras* or *dhâranîs*, they maintained their own uniforms, modes of life and religious teachings. They never cut their hair; they married; and their professions were transmitted by heredity. This violated the Buddhist Disciplines (*Vinaya*) for the priesthood, because they were not orthodox *Bhiksu* but only *Upâsaka*. Sometimes they celebrated Shinto services and agricultural festivals voluntarily as substitutes for Shinto priests.

I believe that their religious and historical ancestors were the archaic shamans caste which was based upon the primitive mountain-worship. Having kept pace with the times, they formed a unique religious organization, accepting and adapting the Chinese Yin-yang theory and

the popular Taoism as well as Mantrayâna Buddhism. The *upâsaka*-magicians were sometimes commonly called *Yama-bushi, Shugen-sha, Gyô-ja,* and *Kitô-sha,* as well as *Hijiri in the mountains. Yama-bushi,* the name of which appeared relatively early, means the "ascetic who lies down in the mountain" and who is assiduous in practicing austerities. *Shugen-sha* or *Ken-za,* which is short for *Shugen-sha,* appeared in the earlier documents. It denotes a person who practices his religious austerities and attains a superhuman power or magical power by merit of his penance. The name of the religious organization *Shugen-dô,* the Way of *Shugen,* was derived from this. *Gyô-ja* also means the person engaged in performing religious austerities or asceticism, and *Kitô-sha* means one who prays; it embraces the seer, medium and faith-healer, practicing his own magic.

In medieval times, the *Hijiri-in-the-mountains* or *Shugen-sha* occupied many sacred and high mountains and built their Buddhist temples, seminaries and Shinto shrines as well as the priests lodges and visitors lodgings in or on the mountains. Among them, the most famous and earliest organized ones were at Mount Kin-pu in Nara Prefecture, Mount Kumano in Wakayama Prefecture, Mount Hiko-san in northern Kyushu and Mount Haguro in Yamagata Prefecture in Northeast Province. These were the large headquarters of the *Shugen-dô* sects from mediaval to modern times.

Some of the *upâsaka*-magicians belonging to the *Shugen-dô* migrated from village to village, from town to city, to give the common people their magic and prayers, and to take awards and offerings from them. Each had his own parish which was authorized by his headquarters. The *Shugen-sha* of Mount Kumano, especially, traveled and preached their religion from Hokkaido to the Okinawa Archipelago. Some others were called *Sato-yamabushi* or *Sato-shugen* (*Yama-bushi* or *Shugen-sha* who live in the village) in contrast to the itinerant *Yama-bushi*; they settled down in villages at village-shrines, village-temples, independent small Buddha halls or huts. The extent of their influence on Japanese popular beliefs, not only in Buddhism but also in Shinto, is realized by the fact that according to Professor Mizoguchi's study [21]) 99.8 % of the village Shinto shrines in the northeast and mid-north

21) MIZOGUCHI, Komazô: *"Tôhoku, Hokuriku-chihô ni okeru Shugen Chaku-sai"* (On the Coloration or Influence of *Shugen-dô* or *Shugen-sha* on the Northeast and Midnorth Provinces in Japan) in *Shukyo Kenkyu,* Ann. IV, No. 4, pp. 192-198.

provinces of Japan had already been occupied by the *Shugen-sha* groups immediately before the Meiji Restoration (1867).

As Buddhism became more and more Japanized and popularized, the title of *Hijiri* or *Zoku-hijiri* was enlarged and extended; and at last, in the later Muromachi Period and the early Edo (Tokugawa) Period (from about the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth centuries), it came to include many *upâsaka* and lower-class priests who usually engaged in the miscellaneous business or duties in the big temples or shrines, such as the bell-ringer (*Kané-tsuki-hijiri*), the sweeper of the garden or a garden-keeper (*Niwa-hijiri*), the Buddha's or Bodhisattva's hall-keeper (*Dô-hijiri*), the pagoda-keeper (*Tô-hijiri*), the cremator or grave-keeper (*Sammai-hijiri* or *Onbô-hijiri*) and so on [22]). There were also those who traveled about the provinces soliciting contributions for pious purposes, such as the building of Buddhist temples, pagodas or statues, the transcriptions of Buddhist canons, or working for the public welfare services under the name of Buddha (*Kanjin-hijiri*; *Kaikoku-hijiri*; *Rokuju-roku-bu-hijiri* or *Roku-bu*; *Koya-hijiri,* etc.) [23]) as well as administering their own Buddhist magic or prayers to the common people and taking a reward from them. Even the out-castes or untouchables, such as the *Etta* or *Hinin* peoples, were sometimes called *Hijiri.* The itinerant dry-goods dealer was also called a *Gofuku-hijiri,* the origin of which came from the *Kôya-hijiri,* the *Hijiri*-group of *Nembutsu* in Mount Kôya [24]).

On the other hand, *Nembutsu-hijiri* and *Yama-bushi-hijiri* groups were gradually transforming themselves into various theories and magic by swimming with the currents of the times. And some of them gradually degenerated and degraded into the popular arts, such as story-telling, reciting, performing rituals, acting and playing symbolic music, and dancing of the tabooed, then out-caste minority groups. It then became the forerunner of the present indigenous Japanese dramatic and musical entertainments.

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22) Cf. *Daijôin Jisha Zôji-ki* written by Jinson of Kôfuku-ji Temple in Nara; *Tammon-in Nikki* (Diary of a priest named Eishun at Tammon-in Seminary at Kôfuku-ji Temple). Both of the authors were of the later Muromachi Period (about 1450-1500).

23) Hori, Ichiro: *Waga-kuni Minkan-shinkô-shi no Kenkyû* (A Study of the History of Folk-Religion in Japan), Tokyo, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 597-650.

24) Hori, Ichuro: *op. cit.*, pp. 33-54; 473-511.

II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE POPULAR BUDDHISM

Historical Origins of the Upâsaka-magicians in the Mountains

Popular Buddhism in the Nara Period flourished in pre-Shingon, Mantraistic forms, as we have already seen. These forms were distinct from the prescribed forms found within the orthodox framework of official Mantrayâna Buddhism. They were part of the total group known as *Zatsu-mitsu* or *Zô-mitsu*, meaning unsystematized, miscellaneous Mantrayâna. The religious needs of the times were served by such leaders as Gyogi-*bosatsu* mentioned above, and by En-no-Shôkaku (E-no-Ozunu or En-no-*gyôja*), another reformer of the *upâsaka* tradition, who is credited with the founding of the *Shugen-dô* sect.

According to the record in "Shoku-Nihongi" [25]), En-no-Shôkaku was a famous magician who purportedly lived in Mount Katsuragi in the middle of the seventh century and was presumed to be a chief of the priestly family which had from generation to generation served Hitokoto-nushi, the god of Mount Katsuragi. This god was well-known as an oracle, because his name was derived from his declaration at his first advent, i.e., the ruler of the logos [26]). In the archaic shamanistic world, such legend, I believe, should be understood to mean that the priestly family itself had a special hereditary gift for speaking oracle.

The legendary anecdotes recorded in "Nihon Ryô-i Ki" [27]), which was compiled by a Buddhist priest in about 822, tell us that En-no-Shôkaku had practiced Buddhist asceticism on Mount Katsuragi and attained a superhuman magical power by the merit of his practices mainly based on the "Kujaku Myôô Ju" (Mahâ-mayûrî-vidyârâj-

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25) *Shoku Nihongi,* chap. I, 679 A.D.

26) According to the *Kojiki,* this god had appeared saying: "I am the deity who judges with a word the evil and with a word the good—the Great Deity of Katsuragi, Lord of One Word." Chamberlain translated this sentence as "I am the deity who *dispels* with a word the evil and with a word the good..." saying however, that the "import of the obscure expression 'dispelling with a word the good' is not rendered much more intelligible by Motoori's attempt to explain it". So that I translated this word into judge. (CHAMBERLAIN: *Ko-ji-ki,* Tokyo, 1906, pp. 339-400).

27) First Buddhist legendary literature in Japan. The full name of this book is "*Nihon-koku Genpô Zen-aku Ryôi-ki*". The author was a Buddhist priest belonging to Yakushi-ji Temple in Nara and having a belief in the Yin-yang and Taoist philosophy as well as in Tendai Buddhism.

ñî) [28]). This magical power was so significant that even his own family-deity Hitokoto-nushi became spellbound on disobeying his order!

Although this particular biography is not yet proven to be historically true, being embroidered and mythologized with many strange anecdotes, there is some reliable evidence to show that many shamans or magicians were practicing austerities in the mountains at that time.

The successors of Gyôgi and En-no-Shôkaku gradually introduced elements of the newly-styled Buddhist magic and ritual of the pre-Shingon sect and popular Taoism into their own primitive Shinto magic or Shamanism, and maintaining their theoretical and philosophical authority within tht Shingon and Tendai Mantrayâna, established the unique *Shugen-dô* sect. The basis of the form and function of *Shugen-dô* had supposedly come from the system of *Shugen-sha* or *Yama-bushi.* This system was highly esteemed in the religious world of the early Heian Period; when I look back on the origin, it could easily have developed from the primitive mountain-worship or mountain-religion and also from the groups of mountain-magicians who had been called the *Hijiri of the mountain* (Holy-men in the mountains) or *hsien-jen* in Chinese, which may be translated "mountan genie".

Why and how did the "holy-men in the mountains" come into existence in pre-Buddhist Japan? Under what circumstances did they develop? What functions did they have? To which type of ancient Shamanism did they belong? And in what respect were they connected with arctic or Oceanic Shamanism? It is very difficult to answer exactly such questions from the very fragmentary historical and archaeological materials available today.

Judging from the facts of intercourse between Japan and Korea which had begun in the first or certainly by the second century, it should be self-evident that the Japanese popular religions had already co-mingled with the Yin-yang magic and philosophy and Confucianistic ethic as well as the Korean Shamanism by the time that Buddhism came. It is also presumable that some of the pre-Buddhist shamans or magicians, adopting Buddhist magic forms and theories after the introduc-

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28) Nanjô Catalogue: No. 306-311. *Fo-shwo-tâ-khuṅ-tshioh-wâṅ-shan-khen-kiṅ* in Chinese.

tion of Buddhism into Japan, developed into popular Buddhist magicians, thus opening up a new sphere of activity.

As early as the Nara Period, there appeared many unauthorized *śramanera, śramaneri, upâsaka* and *upâsiki,* and also many of these emerged arbitrarily in the folk society. One group practiced the semi-Buddhist and semi-shamanistic austerities and participated in divination and prayer by their own magical power, while the other group migrated from village to village to teach the easily-understandable theories such as the Law of Rewords in accordance with Deeds, to administer the magical prayers or rituals, and to supervise social projects and public works.

On the other hand, state Buddhism in the Nara Period was called a philosophical and meditative school and was limited to the priesthood and their own seminary, the character of which was distantly related to the common people. Nevertheless, the function of the scholarly priests in the seminaries, expected of them by the nobles and government, was not the promotion of Buddhist theology but of the public security, prosperity and welfare of the nation on the one hand, and on the other hand, the performance of memorial services for the dead or the spirits of the dead, owing to the rites and ceremonies performed by them. Consequently, many Buddhist priests who were studying their own professional philosophical theories or meditative practices at their temples on ordinary days, were invited and required to serve as Buddhist magicians to drive out the evil spirits or disasters and to be blessed with good fortune.

During the Nara Period, Buddhist temples and priests were intimately related to Shinto shrines and Shinto priests. Accordingly, many of the national Buddhist services under the auspices of the government or of the imperial family were considered as only different forms of Shinto or Yin-yang services. These transformations of Buddhism in Japan seem to me to be an adjustment to the necessary needs in the agricultural state. The Buddhist sûtras to which great importance was attached as being appropriate to state Buddhism were "Dai Hannya Kyô" [29]) "Ninnô Gokoku Hannya-haramitta Kyô" [30]), "Konkômyô

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29) *Mahâprajñâpâramitâ-sûtra.* Nanjô Catalogue: No. 1.

30) "*Prajñâpâramitâ* on a benevolent king who protects his country." Nanjô catalogue: No. 17.

Saishô-ô Kyô" [31]), and "Myôhô Rengé Kyô" [32]). They were sometimes called the "Guardian Sacred Books of the State".

Among these, the "Ninnô Kyô" and "Konkômyô Kyô" sûtras were believed to be especially beneficial to the Emperor [33]). In this period the famous Lotus Sûtra was believed to be the sûtra for the purification of sin and for the salvation of women who, according to the pre-Lotus Sûtra's theories, were regarded as unable to attain enlightenment directly because of their original sin. Many kinds of Buddhist services centering around these sûtras were practiced at the temples and in the imperial palaces. Emperor Shômu built two kinds of state-established provincial ttmples in each prefecture known as *Koku-bunji* Temples: one was for Buddhist priests under the principle of "Konkômyô Kyô"; the other was for nuns who followed the Lotus Sûtra. He also built the Tôdai-ji Temple as the center of state-established provincial temples, serving as the headquarters of the Kegon School. On the tablet of one of the gates of Tôdai-ji Temple was written by Emperor Shômu's autograph the following: "Temple dedicated to the Sûtra on which the golden superior King and his country should be guarded by the Four Heavenly Buddhist Deities."

We notice in the historical documents as well as in Buddhist legendary literature [34]) that Buddhist magic and ritual gradually gained in importance, taking the place of the ancient primitive Shinto magic and Yin-yang magic (*Onmyô-dô*) which had been introduced from China and mixed with Shinto. For example, there have been discovered at the Shô-sô-in Treasury about 26 written applications (*Ubasoku Kô-shin Gé,* applications made by *upâsaka*) for the entrance examination into the Buddhist priesthood as requested by the government in the Nara Period. On these applications, under the signature of their Buddhist teacher, appear the names of *sûtras* and *dhâranîs* or *mantras,* magical

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31) *Suvarnaprabhâsottamarâja-sûtra.* Nanjô Catalogue: No. 126. This is the sûtra which states that the golden superior king and his country should be guarded by the Four Heavenly Buddhist Deities.

32) *Saddharma-pundarîka-sûtra.* Nanjô Catalogue: No. 134.

33) According to the *Nihongi* (chap. XXIX) in 676 Emperor Tenmu sent the messengers to all parts of the country to expound the *Konkômyô* and *Ninnô* Sûtras (Nanjô: No. 126 and 127). This is the first appearance of the Emperor's belief in these two sûtras in the historical document.

34) For example, *Nihon Ryôi-ki and Sanbô-E-kotoba,* the latter of which was written by Tamenori Minamoto in 984 A.D.

formulas or incantations which the applicants had already memorized before taking the examinations. Among them we can find about 19 kinds of *dhâranîs* [35]) as well as a few kinds centering around the Lotus Sûtra and the "Konkômyô Kyô", both of which were compulsory subjects on that examination. Among the *dhâranîs* there are "Sen-ju Kannon Ju" or "Dai Ju" [36]), "Son-shô Darani" [37]), "Jû-ichimen Kannon Ju" [38]), "Kokûzô Darani" [39]), and others, all of which were believed to be the sources or vehicles of the magic power in the logos and were chanted by many applicants (*upâsaka*).

We have seen that the rise of the *Hijiri* in Japan took place along with many other religious developments: the introduction and influence of Korean and Chinese philosophies, the merging of Buddhist and Shinto forms, the emergence of ascetics among the farming communities, a close attention to the Buddhist sûtras as vehicles of magic power and virtue, and the recognition of magicians by the Imperial Court of the Emperor.

Great hopes for magical skill and power were entertained by even the philosophical and meditative Buddhist priests. It was no wonder that the magical function became a unique tie between Buddhism and the masses in farming communities at that time. Many popular magicians were converted to Buddhism, by the request of the masses, and became unauthorized and arbitrary *śramanera* or *upâsaka*. As the Buddhist magic grew in importance and popularity, it came to have an advantage over the former pre-Buddhistic magic.

This is the reason, I suppose, why the legends concerning En-no-Shôkaku were quite different in "Shoku Nihongi" from those in "Nihon Ryo-i Ki". En-no-Shôkaku in the latter was described as an

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35) The 19 *dhârani* are the *Buccho-ju,* the *Jû-ichi-men-ju,* the *Sen-ju-ju,* the *Kanzeon-bondarani,* the *Yakushi-ju,* the *Dai-hannya-ju,* the *Rishu-ju,* the *Hôkô-ju,* the *Konshô-ju,* the *Hokké-darani,* the *Kokûzô-ju,* the *Hachimyô-kyô-darani,* the *Nyoi-darani,* the *Konpon-darani,* the *Shichi-butsu-yakushi-ju,* the *Saishô-ô-kyô-darani,* the *Shihashoju,* the *Sui-ju,* the *Shichi-butsu-hachi-bosatsu-darani.*

36) *Sahasrâksha-sahasrabâhv-avalokitesvara-bodhisattva-dhârany-riddhi-mantra-sûtra,* or *Mahâkârunika-mantra.* Nanjô Catalogue: No. 318-320.

37) *Sarvadurgatiparisodhana-ushnîsha-vijaya-dhâranî* (Sûtra spoken by Buddha on the honorable and excelling Dhâranî of Buddha's Head). Nanjô Catalogue: No. 348-351.

38) *Avalokitesvaraikadasamukha-dhâranî.* Nanjô Catalogue: No. 327-328.

39) *Âkâsagarbha-bodhisattva-pariprikkhâ-saptabuddha-dhâranî-mantra-sûtra.* Nanjô Catalogue: No. 368.

outstanding Buddhist *upâsaka*-magician who could spellbind his own family-deity by Buddhist *dhâranî* when this deity, Hitokoto-nushi, disobeyed his order. Such conquest of the native deity by a Buddhist magician seems to me a significant example of the superiority of Buddhist magic.

The prosperity of Buddhist magic, however, necessarily gave birth to many evils. Among the many official and private Buddhist magicians there were some who, in conspiracy with or as stalking-horses of politically-ambitious persons who held an individual grudge against an enemy or rival, practiced their own black magic for the sake of their supporters. Some of them instigated people to disturb the peace by their speech. Some divinated, told fortunes, and explained the causal relations between deeds and rewards or between natural phenomena and certain political and economic phenomena. Some down-right impostors treated patients by their questionable magic and knowledge.

The government of the Nara Period rigidly suppressed such unauthorized magical practices, and arrested false magicians on several occasions [40]). Nevertheless, if the government not only requested and promoted the offical Buddhist magic but also approved it for the purpose of the social security, prosperity and welfare of the nation, it would have been difficult and perhaps impossible to suppress only the popular Buddhist magic and magicians, though there were, of course, wide differences between the two systems of magic and kinds of magicians in both form and matter.

At the end of the Nara Period, according to "Nihon Ryô-i Ki" as well as to "Shoku Nihongi", there were many "*upâsaka* in the mountains" and mountain-temples where the *upâsaka* practiced religious austerities in order to attain superhuman power. Among them, Mount Yoshino (Kin-pu), Mount Katsuragi and Mount Ohminé in Nara Prefecture had already become sites of the famous seminaries and training places.

While Buddhism in the Nara Period was seriously threatened by

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40) For example, these suppressions were described in "Sô-ni Ryô" (Regulation for Buddhist Priests and Nuns) in *Taihô-Ritsu-Ryô* which was compiled in about 701 and regu'ated the activities and modes of life of Buddhist priests and nuns. Other examples were seen in 717, 729 and 764 in *Shoku-Nihongi,* and in 799 in *Ruiju Koku-shi.*

the policy of the unity of Buddhist church and state, under the policy of the new Heian government which was pushed forward by Emperor Kanmu, Buddhism was completely transformed and separated from the state. Saichô and Kûkai, chosen by the Emperor, introduced the new Buddhist schools named Tendai and Shingon, and were protected by the new government in their opposition to the temples and priests in Nara. None of the Buddhist temples in Nara had been permitted to move to the new capital of Heian (Kyoto). The economic activities and political movements of the temples and priests were rigidly repressed. Illegal and unconstitutional acts of Buddhist priests were severely punished [41]). Buddhism in the Nara Period had finally brought the nation to its knees in the name of state Buddhism, symbolized by the words of Emperor Shômu when he worshipped at the Great Buddha of Tôdai-ji Temple: "I, the Emperor, who served thee as a servant of the Three Treasures (Buddha, Law and Samgha)..." [42]).

The appearance of Emperor Kanmu brought about a change in the status and position of Buddhism and Buddhist priests. They were forced to yield to the Emperor's sovereignty. This Emperor, however, did not fail to recognize the claims and authority of Buddhist orthodox magic to influence the security, prosperity and welfare of the nation [43]).

This situation led to the emergence of the Tendai and Shingon schools and also to a new system of Buddhist magic. These movements met the needs of the times while the state Buddhism of the Nara Period was formally and materially denied. Consequently, the theory and method of training priests also had to be changed by adopting and introducing elements from the popular *upâsaka*-istic and anti-secular-

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41) Emperor Kanmu impeached the official priests in Nara as well as the Archbishop's Committee for their maladministration of the Imperial order as much as 30 times during his reign of 25 years. He denounced the Buddhist priests in Nara as follows: "In the former capital, Nara, there are so many Buddhist temples and Buddhist priests that many reports concerning the illegal and despotic activities of the priests there are heard." Or, "The activities and the modes of life of the present Buddhist priests do not differ at all from those of the laymen."

42) *Shoku-Nihongi,* chap. XVII, 749 A.D.

43) In the Emperor Kanmu's edicts, he said that in order to exorcise the calamities and disasters as well as to be blessed with the good fortune and prosperity, Buddhism should be a superior religion. Again he said: "The teaching of Buddha is profound and deep. The person who transmits this teaching from generation to generation is the priest. The security, prosperity and welfare of the nation are necessarily dependant upon his superhuman divine power." (*Ruiju Sandai Kyaku,* chap. III; *Shoku Nihongi,* chap. XXXVIII, etc.).

istic Buddhism in the rural communities and in the isolated mountain-temples. The former state Buddhism had taken strong root in urbanized or aristocratized ground, so that it was impossible to escape being secularized and aristocratized by it. Virtuous and respectable priests in this period who had attained superhuman power and enlightenment by the merit of their practice of austerities in the mountains were highly esteemed by the Emperor as well as by the masses [44]).

Saichô's and Kûkai's Approach to Mountain-Buddhism

1) Saichô's Approach

In the Heian Period the situation became quite different, especially with regard to state Buddhism and the attitude of the Emperor to popular religion.

By the beginning of the Heian Period it was clear that a religious reform was possible only through channels which were free from political strife. Emperor Kanmu and his followers therefore encouraged and supported "mountain-Buddhism", though they did not unconditionally endorse the unauthorized and arbitrary practices of the mountain-ascetics which had appeared in the late Nara Period. An effort was made to purify and systematize certain forms which had remained unspoiled and yet true to Mantrayistic tradition. As we shall see, this movement was carried out under the leadership of two men especially, whose devotion and initiative was responsible for a whole new age in Japanese religion. Official Buddhism at Nara had lost its authority and the confidence of the public because of the secularism and aristocratized character of the state-priests and state-temples located in the capital. Participation by the state-priests in politics contributed further to this upheaval.

The remarkable development of Emperor Kanmu's reformation was the establishment of the new Tendai and Shingon Buddhist schools,

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44) For example, in 799, the government donated sums of rice to Enson, Shôki, Zenkô, and Bunen who were practicing their religious austerities in the mountains (*Ruiju-Koku-shi*, chap. 186). Again, in the memoirs written by Ségyô in 802, he said that the Buddhist priests are travelers in Three Worlds (past, present and future) who have no houses, no native lands, no parents and no families. "They must settle down in the mountain in order to seek for the True Way; they must settle in the forests in order to practice their meditations; they, however, must not forget their vocation to serve the state and nation, though they must be detached from this world." (*Ruiju-Koku-shi,* chap. 187).

introduced by Saichô and Kûkai under the Emperor's patronage.

Saichô (Dengyô Daishi, 767-822), founder of the Japanese Tendai school, had settled in his hermitage in Mount Hiei near his native land and there he pursued his religious studies and meditative practices immediately after his entrance into the Buddhist priesthood. As the result of his self-awakening, he hated the urbanized and aristocratized city-temples which were easily overcome by temptation, and wanted to seek and practice the real religious way and life in a quiet and secluded place in the mountain. He was presumed to spend his most important training and meditating period from 785 to 802 (from the age of nineteen to thirty-six) in Mount Hiei and never to get dow to Kyoto City. Having been strongly influenced by the attitudes and personalities of Chih-kai in Mount Tien-tai and Hui-ssu in Mount Nan-yueh, founders of the Chinese *Tien-tai* School, he then secured permission to go to China under Emperor Kanmu's command in order to study his professional *Tien-tai* theology and practices as well as his comprehensive Buddhism including the *Mantrayâna, Dhyâna* and *Vinaya.* He spent almost all of his time abroad studying at Mount Tien-tai. Consequently, he returned in 805 with strong confidence in his principle of the establishment of a new mountain-Buddhism [45]).

He built a temple named Enryaku-ji in Mount Hiei as the headquarters of the Tendai school. He made unique educational rules and training systems for his Tendai priests in which he prescribed that his disciples must lead a secluded life in the Enryaku-ji Temple in Mount Hiei for twelve years after they had entered into Buddhist priesthood and they must never descend from the mountain during this training period [46]). He sharply criticized the city-Buddhism of the former style in Nara, saying that large land-ownership was not within their due and lot; the huge sums donated by the Emperor, nobles and government did not suit their means and status; and the big state-temples ruled by official archbishops were not their dwelling-places [57]).

Saichô did not necessarily insist on a secluded life in the isolated mountain-temples after the period of training, but he encouraged the

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45) *Ei-zan Daishi Den* (Biography of Dengyô Daishi) in the *Complete Collection of Dengyô Daishi,* Vol. V).

46) *Sangé-Gakushô Shiki* which consisted of six articles and eight articles, written by Saichô (*Op. cit.* Vol. I).

47) *Ken-kai Ron Engi,* chap. I, which was written by Saichô, *Op. cit.* Vol. I.

actual practices of the Way of Bodhisattva. For example, in his work entitled "Sangé Gaku-shô Shiki" [48]), he divided his disciples into three kinds after they had already finished their special trainings for twelve years in the secluded Enryaku-ji Temple on Mount Hiei under his supervision. He called the first kind *Koku-hô* (priest as a treasure of the state), having completed both theology and practice; the second was called *Koku-shi* (state professor), having completed the theology but not the practices; and the third was *Koku-yô* (priest who works for the state), having completed the practices but not the theology. He also regulated each field of their religious activity. The *Koku-hô*-rank priest had to live permanently at Enryaku-ji Temple in order to educate and train his disciples as well as his junior priests; the second and third-ranked priests were to be appointed as the official provincial priests and they had to perform social works in their province, such as digging wells, ponds and canals for irrigation, building bridges and ships for transportation and traffic; tree plantings, land development works, cultivation of vegetation for famine relief and of medical plants for gratuitous dispensation of medicine to the poor, and so on, as well as chanting the sûtras and meditating.

We might note that Saichô not only strongly held to training his disciples in the secluded mountain-temple in their younger period, but also encouraged them to practice the so-called Way of Bodhisattva (*Bosatsu-dô*), following the teaching of the popular Buddhist priest of the Nara Period, Gyogi-*bosatsu*.

2) Kûkai's Approach

Kûkai (Kôbô Daishi, 774-835), founder of the Japanese Shingon Buddhist school, ranked with Saichô in bearing on his shoulders the new religious world in the early Heian Period. It is doubtful that he had as firm an emphasis and as concrete an opinion concerning the "practices in the mountain" as Saichô had held. However, he too believed that superhuman power could be effectively attained only at secluded places in the mountains.

The personalities and activities of Saichô and Kûkai were extremely different. Saichô founded his school in the face of strong antagonism and controversy from the state-archbishops' group at Nara, though his theology sought to systematize comprehensively and harmoniously the

48) *Op. cit.* Vol. I.

whole of Buddhism on the principle of the Lotus Sûtra. Kûkai, however, was welcomed warmly by all the priests of the old schools in Nara as well as by noblemen and masses, though his Mantrayâna Buddhism was quite different from that of the six schools in the Nara Period. Saichô was very aggressive, straight-forward and uncompromising, standing quite high in his own estimation, while Kûkai was very concidiatory, but at the same time, practical and resourceful.

Upon his return from China, Kûkai brought his new Shingon Buddhsm first to the capital city of Kyoto and the surrounding countryside, where he acquired Takao-san-ji Temple at Mount Takao, Otokuni-dera Temple and Tô-ji Temple. He then advanced to Nara City and prefecture, successfully introducing Shingon in Tôdai-ji, Daian-ji, Gufuku-ji, Chinkô-ji and Murô-ji Temples.

Such signal success was, of course, due to his harmonious personality and resourceful character on the one hand, and on the other, to the highly magico-religious character of Buddhism itself at that time. The introduction of the new forms of prayers and exorcisms based upon the newly systematized theology and *tantrism* of Mantrayâna Buddhism completely fascinated many Buddhist priests regardless of their professional school as well as capturing the attention of laymen.

Kûkai's approach to mountain-Buddhism and his relation to it may be seen in terms of his own religious development. In the preface of his "Sangô Shi(i)-Ki", written in his eighteenth year while he was studying in Kyoto, he writes that a Buddhist monk had given him a sûtra named "Kokûzô Gumonji Hô" [49]). He became converted and believed in the teachings of this sûtra, as the *Real Word* (*Shin-gon*) of the Great Buddha, and went to live in the quiet isolated mountain named Tairyô-daké and Muroto-zaki Peninsula on Shikoku Island in order to practice the religious austerities taught by this sûtra. Subsequently, having completely given up the desire for prosperity and glory in this world, he awakened and keenly felt the importance of seclusion in Buddhist training and discipline. The mountains or isolated

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49) "Law or rules spoken by Buddha for seeking to hear and hold the *dhâranî* of the most excellent heart, and of fulfilling all prayers belonging to the Bodhisattva Âkâsagarbha" (*Fo-shwo-bhü-khuṅ-tsâṅ-phu-sâ-naṅ-mân-ku-yuen-tsâi-shaṅ-sin-tho-loni-khiu-wan-kh'-fâ* in Chinese). Nanjô Catalogue: No. 501, translated by Subhakarasimha in 717 A.D. into Chinese. The original was already lost.

places such as a peninsula or forest were essential for the purpose of attaining superhuman power and enlightenment.

In 816 he asked the Emperor for Mount Kôya as a site for Kongô-bu-ji Temple and its adjacent seminary, one of the headquarters of the Shingon school. In his memorial to the Emperor, he wrote as follows: "Buddha Śakya-muni loved to live in secluded high mountains and the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Kannon or Kwan-in) usually appear on the isolated summit or lonely peninsula. In China also, the temples and seminaries in the mountains such as Mount Wu-tai-shan or the so-called Mount Tien-shan are now flourishing and the real tradition of Buddhism is upheld and carried on there. In Japan, however unfortunately, on the high mountains and in dense forests there are few real priests who practice religious austerities and meditations, though in the capital and other cities Buddhism is now widespread. According to the Buddhist sûtras, a place of flat ground on a steep mountain-side is the best place to practice the meditation. When I (Kûkai) was young, I took pleasure in roving over hill and dale looking for good places to practice, and in this manner I discovered Mount Kôya. It is three days' travel southwest from Mount Yoshino, and is believed to be one of the ideal sites for a Buddhist seminary" [50]).

Kûkai's influence on mountain-Buddhism was decisive because he was able to integrate and systematize the miscellaneous and random elements of the *upâsaka* magic and ritual of the Nara Period. He recognized the need for a popular religion which would also be acceptable to the leaders of state Buddhism.

The two founders of the Tendai and Shingon schools in the beginning of the Heian Period, Saichô and Kûkai respectively, insisted on the necessity and importance of the so-called mountain-Buddhism which they said was directly modeled after the monastery system in Mount Wu-tai-shan in northern China. As a result, many Japanese Tendai and Shingon priests such as Reisen, Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), Enchin (Chishô Daishi), Enkaku, Chônen, Soichi, Jôzen and Jôjin visited China and were deeply impressed with what they saw [51]). So the

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50) *Shô-ryô-shû*, chap. IX in the *Complete Collection of Kôbô Daishi*, Vol. X. This book was believed to be compiled by Kôbô Daishi himself among his poems, essays and memories, although there are supposedly several spurious articles which were included by mistake in the latter.

51) They wrote diaries or memoirs concerning their journeys in China. Among

popular mountain-temples and *upâsaka*-magicans in the Nara Period gradually became justified, authorized, and organized with the rise of the Tendai and Shingon schools.

Mantra-istic Tendencies in the Buddhism of the Heian Period (784-1185)

Saichô, immediately upon his return from China in 804, held a special initiatory rite (*Kan-jô*) for the new Mantrayâna Buddhism at the Takao-san-ji Temple in Mount Takao near Kyoto City. In founding his school in 805, he divided his officially authorized disciples (*Nen-bun Do-sha*) [52]) into two professional groups. One was the proper Tendai group, based mainly on the "Mo-hö-ki-kwan" [53]) written by Chih-kai, founder of the Tien-tai school in China, and the other was the Mantrayâna group, based mainly on the "Mahâ-vairocana Sûtra" [54]).

After Kûkai had returned and officially founded his Shingon school, Saichô occasionally asked him on most courteous terms to explain the forms of rituals and the meanings of Mantrayâna sûtras and śastras. He also sent some of his disciples to Kûkai's seminary to study orthodox Shingon theology and ritual.

Even after Saichô and Kûkai's return from China, the influence of Chinese religion was felt in Japan. The Mantrayâna Buddhism about

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them the most famous ones are Ennin's Diary, *"Nitto Guhô Junrei-kô Ki"*, which recently was translated into English by Edwin O. Reischauer in 1953; Enchin's diary, *"Gyoreki-Sho"*; and Jojin's diary, *"San-Tendai-Godai-san Ki"*. They recorded in these diaries their impressions and experiences as well as the systems and activities of the seminary at Mount Wu-tai-shan.

52) The so-called *Nen-bun Do-sha* were those disciples licensed each year by the goverment as official Buddhist priests. The applicants who passed this examination were sponsored and authorized as the new official disciples of each school. In the beginning, the Tendai School was permitted to adopt two *Nen-bun Do-sha* each year.

53) *Maka Shi-kan* in Japanese. This is one of the most important sacred books of the Tendai School. According to the Nanjô's Catalogue, it should be translated *"Mahâsamatha-vipasyanâ(?)"* or "Great cessation and seeing clearly", or "Meditation and knowledge". Nanjô Catalogue: No. 1538. It was said to be compiled by one of Chih-kai's disciples in 594 A.D.

54) Called formally *"Mahâvairocanâbhisambodhi"*, *Tâ-phi-lu-kö-khân-fo-shan-pien-kiâ-kh'-kin* in Chinese. This sûtra means "the sûtra on Mahâvairocana's becoming Buddha and the supernatural formula called Yugandhara (? lit. "adding-holding") according to the Nanjô's Catalogue (No. 530) which was translated by Subhakarasimha in 724 A.D. *Dai-Birushana-kyô* or *Dai-nichi-kyô* in Japanese.

which Saichô had been extremely concerned, was brought back to Mount Hiei by his successors, especially by Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, the third chief-abbot of the Tendai School) and Enchin (Chishô Daishi, the fifth chief-abbot of the Tendai school and founder of the Jimon branch sect), both of whom went to stay in China for a long period of time to study Mantrayâna and some Tien-tai theology. The Tendai-Esoterism (*Tai-mitsu*), the Mantrayâna branch of the Tendai school, was clearly established by them.

Ennin (793-864) returned in 847 from China where he had spent about nine years studying at Mount Wu-tai-shan as well as in Chang-an, the capital of the Great Tang Dynasty, bringing with him many *mandâlas, sûtras* and *śastras* of both Mantrayâna and Tien-tai schools. He had undergone many hardships and privations caused by the anti-Buddhist movements of Emperor Wu-tsung of Tang in 845. After his return, he asked the Emperor to authorize two more official disciples (*Nen-bun Do-sha*) who might study and practice the Mantrayâna branch of the Tendai school. One should study professionally the "Vajra-sekhara-sûtra" [55]) and the other the "Susiddhikâra-sûtra" [56]). He belived these two sûtras to be the most important Mantrayana-sûtras in his school [57]), and wrote voluminous commentaries on each of them.

Enchin (814-891) who had studied in China from 851 to 856, also asked the Emperor for two newly-authorized disciples, especially for the study and practice of the "Ekâkshara-buddhoshnîsharâja-sûtra" [58]) and "Mahâvairocana-sûtra" respectively [59]).

In the Tendai school, it happened that each year six new disciples were officially authorized by the government. Among them five

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55) *"Kin-kân-tiṅ-yü-kiê-kuṅ-liâo-khu-nien-suṅ-kiṅ"* in Chinese. It should be translated "Sûtra for reciting, being an abridged translation of the Vajra-sekhara-yoga (- tantra)" according to Nanjô's Catalogue No. 534. *Kongô-chô-kyô* in Japanese.

56) Called formally *"Susiddhikâra-mahâtantra-saddhanopâsikâ-patra". "Su-shih-ti-kié-lo-kiṅ"* in Chinese and *So-shitsu-ji-kyô* in Japanese. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 533.

57) *Ruiju San-dai Kyaku,* chap. II, which was the Classfied Collection of Laws and Ordinances compiled by the government during 901-922.

58) *"Yi-tsz'-fo-tiṅ-lun-wâṅ-kiṅ"* in Chinese and *Ichi-ji Chô-rin-ô-kyô* in Japanese. Translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci in 709 A.D. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 532.

59) *San-dai Jitsu-roku,* chap. 50 in 886, which is the sixth official historical record covering the period from 859 to 888, compiled by the government.

disciples were professionally studying and practicing each important sûtra of the Mantrayâna branch. Hence a special importance was rapidly attached to the Mantrayâna branch of the Tendai school as the result of the endeavors of Ennin and Enchin. As opposed to Ennin and Saichô, who regarded the proper Tendai branch and the Mantrayâna branch equally, or rather the former superior to the latter, Enchin strongly insisted on the importance and superiority of the Mantrayâna branch. The chief-abbots of two of the headquarters of the Tendai school, Enryaku-ji and Onjô-ji Temples, were mainly occupied successively by Enchin's disciples or the priests of his lineage. Thus the Mantra-istic elements in the Tendai school assumed ascendancy and prosperity.

The Shingon school, on the other hand, had also been kept alive and flourishing by Kûkai's disciples after his death, running parallel with the development of the Tendai Mantrayâna branch called *Tai-mitsu. Tô-mitsu,* as Shingon Mantrayâna was named in contrast to its rival *Tai-mitsu,* was then gradually establishing its own theology and practices centering around the Tô-ji Temple in Kyoto and the Kongô-bu-ji Temple in Mount Kôya, with new doctrines and disciplines introduced from China in the ninth century by Jyôgyô, Engyô, Eun and Shuei, who had lived in China from about 830 to 876 [60]).

The Development of Mantra-ism and the Rise of the Belief in "Goryo"

It becomes increasingly apparent that there were two significant trends operating dialectically in Japanese popular religion of the Heian Period. One was the strong influence of *Mantra-istic forms* as introduced from China by Saichô and Kûkai. The other was the rise of *individualism* in the popular beliefs, as opposed to the emphasis on collective forms and practices. In this section we shall discuss these two inter-related trends and their particular functions among the nobility and aristocracy.

In the new Buddhism of the Heian Period, the tendency of Mantra-ism represented by the Tendai and Shingon schools spread to the old Buddhist schools of Nara City, and the magical functions of Buddhism

60) *Nittô Go-ka Den,* a collection of accounts of the journeys of five Shingon priests who went to China to study Mantrayâna Buddhism in the middle of the Heian Period. Also see *Shoka Shôrai Moku-roku,* a collection of Mantrayâna Buddhist texts brought by several priests on their return from China.

which had already flourished in the former times had an increasingly esoteric character. This was due to the most elaborate symbolism in their decorations and impressive rituals as well as to the mysterious prayers and chants of sûtras and *dhâranîs*. This was to produce a powerful effect on the spiritual life of the nobles and intelligentsia in the capital.

As already noted, Buddhist magicians had sometimes taken advantage of the scrambles for political power. Especially, in order to bring to the zenith Michinaga Fujiwara's political hegemony (966-1024), there were repeated the gloomy rejections and strifes centering around the Imperial Court not only among different rival families, but also between insiders of the same family. The Buddhist magic, prayers and curses came to flourish because of the belief in them as effective and secret means to defeat one's rivals and enemies in contending for personal distinction and family prosperity. Therefore, the religious beliefs of the nobles at that time became more and more self-interested and self-centered. A particular Buddhist priest formed a connection with a particular person of family by his own blood relationship, his temple's relation or his teacher's ties, and practiced his prayers and magic for the benefit of this connected person or related family. This was called "*Shi-Dan-no-En*" (particular connection between priest and supporter) and the priest was called "*O-inori-no-Shi*" or "*Goji-So*", both of which means the priest who protects his supporter by his prayers and magic.

The establishment of this connection between school, sect, temple, or priest and the nobility was frequently abused for the purpose of contests for political power and for retaliations and attacks against one's rivals. For example, it was said that when the right of succession to the Imeprial Throne was contested by two half-brother princes, Koretaka and Korehito (later Emperor Seiwa), the Shingon priest Shinzei became a petitioner in behalf of the former prince because of his mother's lineage and the Tendai priest Eryô became a petitioner for the latter prince because of his connection with the prince's maternal grandfather. These two priests contended with each other, using their best magic as weapons [61]).

61) *Gen-kô Shaku-sho,* chap. XIII, "Biography of Eryô". This book contains compiled and classified biographies of famous Japanese Buddhist priests as well as an outline of Japanese Buddhism with a chronological table from its beginning

In the middle of the Heian Period (from about 900 to about 1050), noblemen built their own family-temples, a practice which had been prohibited by Emperor Kanmu. And the priests who had some connection with the nobles lived in these family-temples and practiced their prayers and magic for the benefit of the family members. Some priests and temples were backed very prosperously by their patrons' political and economic attentions. Consequently, there were skilled magicians and priests who because of these relations to the nobility in a sense formed anew the "magician" aristocracy.

As a result of the prevalence of Mantra-ism, some Buddhas' and Bodhisattvas' statues and temples became especially favorite objects of worship due to their marvelous efficacy and divine favor, regardless of sectarian and theological connections. The custom of pilgrimages to these popular temples and the use of the temples for devotional purposes became widespread not only among the noble classes but also among the common citizens in the capital. The belief in numerous repeating and chanting of the sûtras and dhâranîs also grew in popularity. There was a tendency for ceremoies held in such temples to become a kind of social club or gathering.

While the phenomena of superstitions and illusions among the noble-class people seemed to be increasing in frequency and intensity, this movement was accompanied by a rise in the popularity of Buddhist magic. These phenomena were part of the so-called *belief in goryô* or *goryô-shin* which was supposed to have been caused by the perpetual menace against the invisible curse and black magic performed by the enemy on the one hand, and on the other, by the constant fear of the invisible revenge, retaliation and curse of the spirit of the dead enemy and his family members who had been overcome.

This belief had played an important role in the serious self-reflection on the part of those who had achieved supremacy as well as in the self-consolation of the defeated, whose future vindication was assured. From the end of the Nara Period to the middle of the Heian Period, shamans would announce the names and declare the will of the spirits of the dead who had died as victims of the scrambles for political

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to 1300 A.D., written and presented to the Emperor by a Zen Buddhist priest named Shiren (Kokan) in 1321. According to another document (*Gô-dan-shô* written by Hiromoto Ohé) the Tendai priest Shinga became the one who prayed in behalf of Prince Korehito (later Emperor Seiwa) instead of Eryô.

power. This usually happened at times of famine, epidemic, drought, flood, the falling of a thunderbolt, and also in the case of personal illness, evil dreams, difficult childbirth and so on. In order to soothe such revengeful and angry evil spirits, there took place a re-burial of their remains, a posthumous conferment of honorific name and court rank, and Shinto and Buddhist services.

By 863 there had already come into existence five large *goryô-shin*. They were the spirits of two disenthroned crown princes, the real mother of one of these princes, and two ministers who had suffered martyrdom. Around this time, epidemics were frequent and many people had died. Public opinion attributed this to the anger of the *goryô*. Consequently, the *Goryô-yé Festival* was held under the auspices of the Emperor at the Jinzen-on Imperial Garden. In this festival there was music and dances, *sumô*-wrestling, horse-racing and archery games, as well as the Buddhist services in order to soothe these angry *goryô* [62]).

After Michizané Sugahara (845-903) [63]) had died at his place of exile in Kyushu, a rumor had been in the air that his angry spirit might retaliate upon his enemies. The crown prince happened to die suddenly in 923; and in 930, the Imperial Palace was struck by lightning and several court officials who had overthrown Sugahara's political power died of shock and the Emperor also was indisposed after this, and soon died. Then in 942 a female shaman possessed by the deceased Sugahara's spirit announced that these disasters had been willed by him. Again, in 955 an inspired young child of a Shinto priest also announced the same divine message and proclaimed that the spirit of Sugahara had become the deity of disasters and a chief-deity of the thunder-demons. The Imperial Court, surprised by these divine messages and the public rumor, enrolled his angry spirit among the gods and dedicated to him a shine in Kyoto named the Kitano-Tenjin Shrine. This was an example on the largest scale [64]).

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62) *San-dai Jitsu-roku,* chap. VII.

63) He was a famous scholar and politician at that time. Emperor Uda promoted him to a responsible post in order to set him against the Fujiwara Family, who swayed politics with their high hand. After the Emperor retired, his rivals slandered him before the new young Emperor Daigo and condemned him to exile in Kyushu.

64) *Ku-ji Kon-gen,* Article of "Kitano-matsuri"; *Kitano Engi*; *Tenman-gû Taku-sen Ki*; *Fusô Ryaku-ki*; Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 414-418.

The appearance of Sugahara's *goryô* had been a climax of this belief, and ushered in the so-called "*Goryô-shin* Age." We can realize from the diaries, essays and novels written by the nobles and intellectuals at that time how the people were in constant fear and anxiety about the rampancies of the many kinds of *goryô*. As Lady Sei-Shônagon, the author of the famous essay entitled "Makura-no-Soshi" had wisely pointed out, these trends of the religious world were *abuses of an age* which never manifested a sound-minded belief. The magical Buddhist priests and *upâsaka*-magicians, as well as the shamans and Yin-yang priests, actively promoted these trends in collusion with each other on the one hand, and on the other hand, possessed the confidence of the troubled persons by virtue of their magic. In other words, they threatened the nobles' minds freely, leading them by the nose, for they could also give them a sigh of relief from their troubles.

The reasons for the appearance in the limelight of the *Way of Yin-yang* (*Onmyô-dô*), led by the Kamo and Abé families at that time, were surely present in this *milieu*; however, the old forms of magic still remained, though in an extremely passive state. They divinated and interpreted the causes of disasters or the omens and portents by their astrological knowledge and their sacred book named "Yi-king" (The Book of Change). At their suggestion, the nobles practiced the purification ceremonies, abstinence, confinements to their house on unlucky days, movements in the lucky direction and so on. Nevertheless, after all is considered, it might be said that the magic of the Mantrayâna priests was more up-to-date and mysterious, more positive and agressive than the Yin-yang magic. The Buddhist magicians held the public confidence, for by their magic and prayers the evil spirits of the dead announced by shamans and Yin-yang diviners could not only be exorcised and driven away but also saved and sent off to the Buddha's Paradise.

As the belief in *goryô* became more and more widespread, the possibility of becoming a *goryô* or a deification of the spirit of the dead was gradually distributed to all human beings regardless of their social status and lineage. In ancient theocratic ages, there might be supposed to be at least two kinds of personalities, souls and spiritual powers; one belonged to the taboooed class or noble-class of people, the other to the laymen and common people. The possibility of deification after death or of transmission of the will through the shaman's mouth were limited

to the former. However, under the strong influence of the Buddhist doctrine of *equality* as well as the result of the degeneration of theocratic shamanism, these possibilities were gradually distributed to the common people; each person, regardless of class status, began to be conscious of the possibility of his own deification in the form of *goryô*-belief.

The will-power and implacability of an individual, especially in his last moments of life, were believed to be most effective toward becoming a *goryô* and revenging on his enemies in his after-life. Thus the top figures in the political and economic world as well as the defeated ones had equally to become magico-religious, believing in the future life for purposes of their freedom from danger and calm resignation to fate. It was in this way that the *Kenza* (*Shugen-sha*) and the *Nembutsu*-prayers achieved their great prominence.

(To be continued)

SHORTER NOTES

DAS ENDE DES URMONOTHEISMUS

Unter diesem Titel — aber noch mit Fragezeichen — habe ich in *Numen* 1956, S. 156, eine „Shorter Note" veröffentlicht, um auf einen Artikel von Joseph HAEKEL (*Saeculum* 1956) aufmerksam zu machen, in dem zum ersten Mal, im Rahmen einer Selbstüberprüfung der Positionen und wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der von P. Wilhelm Schmidt begründeten Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde, von einem der angesehensten Vertreter derselben Schule eine ausdrückliche — wenn auch vorsichtige — Reserve auch gegenüber der bekannten 'Urmonotheismus'-Theorie des Pater Schmidt ausgesprochen wurde.

Wenn ich mich jetzt dazu entschliesse, diese zweite „Note" unter demselben Titel in bestimmterer Form erscheinen zu lassen, dann liegt darin schon ein Zeichen für die Bedeutung, die ich einem weiteren Symptom derselben kritischen Haltung beimesse, welches dieses Mal in zwar nicht rein wissenschaftlichen, aber dem Pater Schmidt doch geistig nahestehenden und seinem Andenken verdientermassen ergebenen Kreisen aufgetreten ist.

Die vierzehntäglich in Zürich, Schweiz, erscheinende Zeitschrift *Orientierung: katholische Blätter für weltanschauliche Information* hat in Oktober-November von 1957 einen Artikel von Prof. Joseph Götz, Rom, in drei Teilen veröffentlicht, der in drei aufeinander folgenden Nummern unter den Titeln erschienen ist: 'Der Ursprung der Gottesidee und sein Verfasser' (Nr. 19); 'Ergebnis und Wertung der Arbeit P. Wilhelm Schmidts' (Nr. 20); 'Zur Theorie der Uroffenbarung P. W. Schmidts' (Nr. 21). Im grossen und ganzen handelt es sich — zu Nutzen der grossen Leserschaft — um ein neues Wachrufen des Werkes Pater Schmidts in seinen Grundlinien und Hauptergebnissen, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Theorie des Urmonotheismus in Bezug auf das Dogma von der Offenbarung. Die Darlegung bezieht sich auf das Hauptwerk Pater Schmidts, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, aber berücksichtigt auch die gegenwärtigen kritischen Stimmungen innerhalb der Wiener Schule, indem sie sich ganz ausdrücklich auf die

folgenden Arbeiten beruft: F. Bornemann, *P. W. Schmidts Vorarbeiten für eine neue Auflage von 'Völker und Kulturen', Anthropos* 1955-1956; J. Haekel, *P. Wilhelm Schmidts Bedeutung für die Religionsgeschichte des vorkolumbischen Amerika, Saeculum* 1956; Ders., *Der heutige Stand der historischen Ethnologie,* in der Festschrift: *Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde,* Wien 1956; W. Koppers, *Das Problem der Universalgeschichte im Lichte von Ethnologie und Prähistorie, Anthropos* 1957.

Es ist der Mühe wert, einige besonders kennzeichnende Sätze zu zitieren. (Nr. 21, S. 227:) „Die These des Monotheismus beruht auf wissenschaftlicher Analyse und ist wissenschaftlicher Kritik zugänglich ... Die grösste Schwierigkeit liegt in der Bezeichnung selbst: Monotheismus. P. Schmidts Rekonstruktion dieser Religion — wie die der Urkultur — ist zu ideal, streckenweise geradezu idyllisch und kennzeichnend für den Enthusiasmus des vom Evolutionismus befreiten Gelehrten ...". (ebenda, S. 228:) „Dazu kam noch eine etwas vereinfachte Auffassung der Kulturkreise, die es ihm erlaubte, fast alles Minderwertige auf den Einfluss der 'höheren' Kulturen zurückzuführen ... Die neuesten Untersuchungen beweisen ..., dass nicht alles Minderwertige dem äusseren Einfluss zuzuschreiben ist, dass der Gottesglaube nirgends so rein dasteht noch so bewusst alles ihm Fremde ausschliesst, wie die Bezeichnung 'Monotheismus' es fordert ... Kein Monotheismus also, aber sicher ein echter Theismus, oder, um nicht anachronistische technische Ausdrücke zu verwenden, echter Hochgottglaube, Gottesidee ...".

Weil ich eben dies gesagt und wiederholt habe (und ich wiederhole es inzwischen schon seit vierzig Jahren), habe ich mir mehrere Male die scharfen Kritiken Pater Schmidts und seiner Anhänger zugezogen. Heute habe ich die Genugtuung, es auch von ihnen angenommen zu sehen, obwohl sie noch immer vermeiden werden, zu erklären, dass ich recht hatte. Man darf sich hier keine Illusionen machen. Die oben erwähnte Reaktion *ab intra* der qualifizierteren Kreise und ihre Ausstrahlung in weitere Schichten der öffentlichen Meinung sind herzlich zu begrüssen. Aber es wird noch lange Zeit erfordern, um die schädlichen Einflüsse gründlich zu neutralisieren, die von der Theorie des Urmonotheismus in so vielen Jahren aktivster Propaganda ausgeübt worden sind, ausgeübt mit so vielen Mitteln der Durchdringung und Verbreitung, begünstigt auch durch Wirkung nichtreinwissenschaft-

licher Faktoren. In Italien (wo die Wiener Schule in strikt Schmidtschem Sinne befolgt worden ist und noch wird) ist vor einigen Monaten ein Buch erschienen (R. Boccassino, *Etnologia religiosa: Le scuole evoluzioniste e le scuole storiche*), in dem man noch gegen die Windmühlen eines anachronistischen Evoluzionismus kämpft, aber in dem gar kein Wort über die heutige Orientierung der Wiener Schule zu finden ist.

Auf jeden Fall, die Wahrheit ist auf dem Wege, und ... *portae inferi non praevalebunt*! Es ist nicht nur eine Frage der Terminologie; es handelt sich nicht einfach darum, den Ausdruck 'Urmonotheismus' über Bord zu werfen (nachdem man ihn von Grund aus in zweideutigem Sinne ausgebeutet hat) und ihm den Ausdruck 'Ur-Theismus' zu unterschieben, und dann mit dem 'Hochgott' in dieselbe Ausweglosigkeit wie vorher mit dem 'Eingott' zu geraten, indem es als unmöglich angenommen wird, das Vorhandensein einer so erhabenen Gottesidee bei den Urvölkern anders als einen Rest und fernen Abglanz der Offenbarung zu erklären. Diese Ausweglosigkeit ist nur in einer willkürlichen, aprioristischen Begrenzung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung begründet. Sie ist prinzipiell ebenso ungerechtfertigt wie faktisch nicht vorhanden. Im Laufe meiner Forschungen habe ich mich von dem Gedanken leiten lassen, eine rein historische, nicht theologische Klärung des Begriffes des höchsten Wesen zu geben. Bei Fortsetzung meiner Untersuchungen und partieller Berichtigung meiner Anfangspositionen, glaube ich, ein positives Ergebnis gewonnen zu haben. Die neuen Perspektiven sind zur Zeit in meinen neueren Arbeiten dargelegt: *L'onniscienza di Dio,* Turin 1955; *The All-Knowing God,* London 1956; *L'Essere supremo nelle religioni primitive,* Turin 1957; *Der allwissende Gott,* Frankfurt 1958/9 (in Vorbereitung). S. auch: *L'idée de création et la notion d'un Être créateur chez les Californiens,* "Proceedings of the 32d International Congress of Americanists" (1956), Copenhagen 1958.

RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI

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CHINESE CONCEPTS OF THE SOUL

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Few words are more ambiguous than the word 'soul'. In its primary meaning it seems to designate an entity distinct from the body, the principle of life, thought and action in man, the source of the psychical activity of the individual person. The soul is assumed to exist as a spiritual substance in antithesis to material substances. Thus soul and body are contrasted and thought to be separable. In its more comprehensive sense the soul denotes the whole 'self' or personality, the essential principle of human nature and the basis of conscious, continuous, individual existence.

In Semitic, and indeed Zoroastrian, thought man was regarded as a single, unified being, consisting of soul and body, neither of which could exist without the other. In Indian religion, on the other hand, as Zaehner writes in his latest book [1]), there are "two worlds which are never wholly compatible. There is the world of eternal spirit on the one hand, and the world of never ending change on the other. Two eternities face each other ..... Not only man, but animals too, are thus a compound of these two eternities. The separation of the one from the other constitutes salvation: soul must bid farewell to matter for ever if it is to be free and if it to recognise itself as eternal. The separation of the eternal from the perishable remains the goal of all Indian religion ..... The soul is *by nature* eternal, and so can only suffer diminution and loss by its association with the body".

Chinese indigenous beliefs are, I believe, of peculiar interest because, though there are certain marked similarities with Upanishadic thought, Chinese thinkers did not make a dichotomy between spirit and matter, soul and body, such as we find in Indian and Greek thought. As with the Semites, man was conceived of as a single, unified being, in which neither soul nor body could exist without the other. But in China this

1) R. C. ZAEHNER, *At Sundry Times*, London, 1958, p. 22-23.

belief was based upon a view of the universe as a monistic organism of which man was but a part.

There is little or no evidence of any early direct influence from Brahmanism on Chinese thought. Buddhism, at least from the beginning of the Christian era, did have a marked influence, though it is doubtful if more than a small fraction of Chinese Buddhists denied the existence of an enduring entity, soul, ego or atman. Most of them believed that there was a 'soul entity' which passed on from one transmigration to another.

In Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics among the articles dealing directly with concepts of the soul, though there are discussions of Primitive, Buddhist, Christian, Greek, Hindu, Iranian, Muslim, Roman, Semitic, Egyptian and Teutonic ideas of the soul, there is no section on Chinese beliefs, only a short article under the heading, 'Life and Death' [2]). Is this omission due to the belief that Chinese ideas of the soul remained primitive, or to the view that Chinese indigenous beliefs had in them nothing distinctive? Or is it due rather to the fact that when the encyclopaedia was compiled Western scholars were obsessed with the idea that what was distinctive in Chinese philosophy and religion stemmed from Confucius; and Confucianism, as such, gives little help to our understanding of Chinese concepts of the soul?

Though early Chinese beliefs concerning the soul and its post-mortem existence were similar to beliefs held in many other parts of the world, certain developments and cultic practices arose in connection with those beliefs which are of peculiar interest and significance. Nowhere did the cult of ancestor spirits become so developed as an integral part of the religious system, and with it the Chou dynasty practice of having living 'personators' or representatives of the dead ancestors, who, being temporarily inhabited by the spirits of departed ancestors, were given the honours due to those spirits; or the practice of honouring the 'spirit tablets' both of gods and ancestors, and the interesting practice of 'calling back the soul' of the departed at death.

Associated with the dualism of the Yin and the Yang, which seems to have received systematic formulation in the fourth century B.C., we find growing up in China a belief in two groups of soul elements,

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2) *E. R. E.* Vol. 11 p. 725 ff. Cf. Vol. 8 p. 14 ff.

both essential constituents of the nature of man. This belief has persisted down to modern times in spite of the profound influence of Buddhist, and, in later times, Christian ideas.

Again we find, in association with the Taoist religion of the early centuries of the Christian era, the belief in a germinal self, an inner root partaking of the nature of the Tao, which, with due cultivation, could grow and mature to partake of immortality when the external body died. This idea, taken up into Chinese Buddhism, was to have a great influence on Chinese thought throughout many centuries. The Chen Ju (truly so), the essential Buddha nature which every man possessed, was the only real, and therefore immortal.

In the light of these few preliminary observations it appears that Chinese concepts of the soul ought not to be neglected in any comparative study of the subject. In a brief article no more can be attempted than to deal with a few of the more important ideas which developed in Chinese religious and philosophical writings.

The earliest concepts of the Chinese concerning the soul are to be sought for in their most primitive written characters. In recent times much light has been thrown on the meaning of these characters by the study of Oracle Bone Inscriptions dating from the fourteenth to the twelfth centuries B.C., and the short inscriptions to be found on ritual bronzes of the Shang and Chou dynasties. Earlier scholarship, both Chinese and Western, was often seriously misled by the etymology of the Han dynasty lexiographers. In particular the *Shuo Wen* of Hsü Shen, dating from about 100 A.D., was such a great dictionary and held in such deservedly high repute that it was often implicity trusted in respect of important Chinese words where recent research has shown the etymology to be unreliable. For instance, the character 'shih' (示) which is a meaningful element in many Chinese characters designating spiritual beings, the manes of the departed, sacrifices, prayers etc. was explained in the *Shuo Wen* as itself being compounded of two elements, one indicating what is above, and the other indicating influences descending. Thus the character was explained as signifying communication between Heaven and man. Kuo Mo Jo and several other modern Chinese scholars would, in the light of recent research, explain this character as cognate with the characters representing ancestor spirits, 'tsu' (祖), and earth altars, 'she' (社), and as being phallic in

origin [3]). Reliance on Chinese traditional scholarship based on the *Shuo Wen* led so great a sinologist as J. Legge into serious errors in respect of early Chinese religious beliefs [4]).

Although in the earliest extant literature, such as the Classic of History (Shu Ching), two soul elements, the kuei shen (鬼 神), are placed in apposition, the evidence seems to indicate that in the earliest times man was thought of as living on after death in the earth for a period, and as possessing only one soul which persisted as a kuei. This character 'kuei' is a pictogram, written on the oracle bones as  , indicating a being with a somewhat fearsome aspect. Later on, the *Shuo Wen* connects this character with another character also pronounced kuei (歸), meaning 'to return' 'to revert back', a word constantly used in connection with death.

This elemental character 'kuei' has lived on in the language as a primitive or radical, whilst other characters used to designate the soul, the spirit or the vital breath, 'shen, ch'i, hun, p'o, ling etc. (神, 氣, 魂, 魄, 靈) are all composite in the form, which suggests that they came into the language much later when the language had undergone considerable development.

"A large number of Chinese customs", writes de Groot [5]), "that are founded on a belief in the cohabitation of the soul and the body in the grave, bear clear evidence in themselves of having originated in a time when the people were not advanced enough to indulge in any abstract reasoning about a heaven and an earth receiving the souls of man on his death". Customs relating to the disposal of the dead continually represent the shen (神) as well as the kuei as residing in or near the grave pointing back to an earlier time when the two soul elements were not differentiated. Again, as de Groot writes [6]). "In the oldest works we have the kuei is represented to be that part of the soul which returns with the corpse to the earth, and that the belief that the soul resides there with the body after death must have prevailed long before civili-

3) Hou Wai Lu, *Chung Kuo Ssu Hsiang T'ung Shih,* Peking, 1957, Vol. 1. p. 63 ff.

4) J. Legge, *Religions of China,* London, 1880, p. 9-13.

5) J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China,* Leiden, 1875, Vol. 4. p. 5 ff.

6) *Ibid.,* p. 8.

zation could possibly bring the people to the invention of profound theories about a dualistic character of the soul. In short, time was when the Chinese knew no other soul than 'kuei', whole and undivided".

As the earth was thought of as the earliest home of the dead, the vital spirit was believed to linger with or near the corpse which had been for a long time its home. But as the corpse disintegrated the soul was inevitably forced to leave it, to merge again in that mysterious source of creative energy down in the earth which is referred to in later literature as the 'Yellow Springs'. It was, therefore, a kindness both to the living and to the dead to do everything possible to preserve the corpse from dissolution; to the dead, because only thus could the vital spirit continue to live on and retain its identity; to the living, because only thus could the ancestor spirits continue to interest themselves in the affairs of their descendants. In the funeral customs both of the Shang and Chou dynasties we find much evidence of a strong desire to preserve the corpse from decay. The elaborate tombs of Shang dynasty construction suggest this underlying motive, and though there is no evidence that the art of embalming, as practised by the Egyptians, was known to the Chinese, the elaborate preparations of the corpse, the use of what were believed to be life-prolonging agencies such as jade, the stopping up of all the orifices of the body, all witness to the desire to provide for the soul of the deceased as permanent a home as possible. It seems also that there was the fear that if the corpse, through mishap or unnatural death, was not properly laid to rest within the tomb the soul, still retaining its vital energies, would become a preta, preying on the living and seeking entrance into some other body. The same would happen if the customary offerings to the dead were neglected by the descendants. Chinese folklore from the time of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* onwards bears witness to this primitive and persistent belief.

Though this concept of the soul as a kuei, which after death was associated for a while with the tomb, and finally returned to the earth from which it had first issued forth, was the most primitive, as early as the second millenium B.C. at least among the nobility, there had grown up a belief that the ancestor spirits after death became powerful divine beings dwelling above. On the oracle bone inscriptions, besides the character kuei we find frequently another character from which were derived the characters designating 'deceased ancestor' 'tsu' (祖), the protective god of the soil, 'she' (社) and divine beings, 'shen'

(神). Undoubtedly phallic in origin and associated with a primitive fertility cult, these spiritual beings who had once lived on earth were worshipped as divine ancestors in the ancestral temple and as protective spirits of the land and grain at the earth altars. They were thought of as possessing, at least in respect of their own descendants, qualities of omniscience and omnipotence. They sent down rewards and punishments, blessings and calamities, demanded periodic sacrifices, and their help could be sought by means of divination.

The term 'kuei shen' (鬼神) as used in early literature comprised the whole host of spiritual beings. Thus quite early on there is evidence of a division of the postmorten spirits into two categories, the shen dwelling above and the kuei dwelling below. In the later centuries of the Chou dynasty these ideas were to receive philosophical formulation and develop into the distinctive Chinese concept of two groups of soul elements in man, one more light, tenuous and vaporous, partaking of the nature of Heaven and the Yang (陽) principle, and the other more heavy, viscid, a kind of animal essence, partaking of the nature of earth and the Yin (陰) principle.

Before looking more closely at this concept of two souls, which seems to have developed along with the Yin-Yang philosophy about the fourth century B.C., to be taken up by Taoist writers and later incorporated into orthodox Confucian philosophy, it would be well to look briefly at what early thinkers, Confucius, Mencius and Chuang Tzu thought about the nature of the soul.

Confucius accepted the ancient tenet that 'Heaven gave birth to the people' [7]). Man therefore partakes somewhat of the nature of Heaven. He is the most 'spirit-fraught' of all creatures [8]). Confucius is silent, however, as to just what it is in man which gives to him his superior intelligence. He gives no explicit utterance on the state of man after death. He assumes that man continues to live on after death, but says nothing definite as to his future existence. He accepts the testimony of the Odes that the ancestors of kings live on in heaven [9]), and that even faithful ministers share their happiness and assist them in concerns similar to those which occupied them on earth. He accepts the cult of

7) *Shu Ching*, 5. 1, 1; *Shih Ching*, 3. 3, 6. Cf. *S.B.E.* Vol. iii p. 125 and p. 425.
8) *Ibid.* 125.
9) *Shih Ching*, 4. 1, 1.

ancestors as of primary obligation, and believes that the departed concern themselves with the living. But, we are told, Confucius avoided speaking of the spirits [10]). When his disciple Tzu Lu asked him how to serve the spirits he replied, "You are not yet able to serve men, how can you serve the spirits?". When the same disciple asked him about death he was told, "You do not yet understand life, how can you understand death?" [11]). Again, asked to say if the dead have knowledge of the services and sacrifices rendered to them by the living, Confucius is reputed to have said, "If I were to say that the dead have such knowledge, I am afraid that filial sons and dutiful grandsons would injure their substance in paying the last offices to the departed; and if I were to say that the dead have no such knowledge, I am afraid that unfilial sons would leave their parents unburied. You need not wish to learn whether the dead have such knowledge or not. There is no present urgency about the point. Hereafter you will know it for yourself" [12]).

The agnosticism of Confucius and Mencius was prepared to leave such questions unanswered, indeed as being incapable of answer. Not so the restless, enquiring mind of Chuang Tzu. He conceived of the soul as an emanation from the Tao, a vital force passing to and from this earth through the portals of birth and death. "The life of man results from the coalescence of the vital force. Its coalescence is life; its dispersal, death. If, then, life and death are but consecutive states, what have I to grieve about?" [13]). Speaking of the emotions of joy, anger, sorrow, happiness, which constantly alternate within us, Chuang Tzu asks what is their cause. "But for these emotions", he says, "I should not be. But for me, *they* would have no scope. So far we can go; but we do not know what it is that brings them into play. It would seem to be a *soul,* but the clue to its existence is wanting. That such a power operates is credible enough, though we cannot see its form. Perhaps it has function without form" [14]).

According to Chuang Tzu, the soul, if daily nourished and not allowed to wear itself out with the body in the pursuits of mortality, may

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10) *Analects* 7: 20. Cf. A. WALEY, *The Analects of Confucius*, London 1938, p. 127

11) *Ibid.* 11: 11, p. 155.

12) *K'ung Tzu Chia Yü* 2: 17. Cf. KRAMERS, *K'ung Tzu Chia Yü*, Leiden, 1950, p. 238.

13) *Chuang Tzu,* Ch. 22. Cf. *S.B.E.* Vol. 40, p. 59.

14) *Ibid.* Ch. 2. Cf. *S.B.E.* Vol. 39, p. 179.

become immortal, and return beautified to the Great Unknown from whence it came. Chuang Tzu seems to have believed that man is the head of all creation because in him there is something far greater than what appears to be, and so man can attain to formlessness and thus vanquish death. Man may rest himself in the eternal fitness. He may abide in the everlasting, and roam from the beginning to the end of all creation. He may bring his nature to a condition of unity with the Absolute.

The idea that the soul, akin to breath or vapour, flies away from the body at the moment of death to wander through the universe, gave rise to the common custom by which relatives of the deceased took his familiar garments up onto the roof top of the house, and holding the garments towards the several points of the compass called upon the soul to return. The 'calling back of the soul' finds its most magnificent expression in a great poem, attributed to Ch'ü Yüan of the fourth century B.C., and translated as "The Great Summons" or "Requiem". In this poem the great privations and dangers facing the soul of the departed are vividly portrayed. North, South, East or West, wherever he may go, he will find no peace or comfort. It is senseless to try to enter "the Heavenly Sphere, where tigers guard the nine celestial gates, to slay each mortal rash who penetrates" [15]). Far better "to home return, thy relatives among, who do thee reverence and nurse no wrong". Only by return to its familiar abode on earth will the soul find security, comfort and joy. It will no longer be in exile, but will receive the homage of dear ones, with all the delights of feasting, wine, music and song.

Among the many references to the "calling back of the soul" is one attributed in the Book of Rites to Confucius [16]). Here a clear distinction is made between the intelligent spirit, partaking of the nature of breath, which continues its existence on high, and the animal soul which descends into the grave with the body. "When one dies (his friends) went on the housetop and cried out to him by name to come back. Afterwards they set forth by the corpse uncooked rice and pieces of roasted meat. Thus they looked to Heaven (where the soul was gone),

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15) *Li Sao and other poems of Ch'ü Yüan,* Engl. Tr., Peking, 1953, pp. 75-84. Cf. A. WALEY, *Chinese Poems,* R. U. Ed. 1949, pp. 36-42. Waley attributes the poem to an anonymous writer of the 3rd. or 2nd. century B.C.

16) *Li Chi,* Bk. 7, Pt. 1 : 7. *S. B. E.,* Vol. 27, p. 368-9.

and buried (the body) in the earth. The body and animal soul descend, whilst the intelligent spirit is on high".

Among the philosophers who arose in China between the death of Confucius in 479 B.C. and the unification of China in 221 B.C. were a group of thinkers, the most distinguished being Tsou Yen who flourished towards the end of the fourth century B.C., to whom the Han dynasty scholars gave the name of the Yin Yang school. The Yin was the principle of darkness, cold, moisture, quiescence, feminimity; the Yang was the principle of light, warmth, dryness, activity, masculinity. By the interaction of these two principles all the phenomena in the universe were thought to be produced, including man. Thus man himself came into being and continued to exist as a result of the mutual interaction of these two primary forces. His nature was essentially dualistic. He possessed two soul elements, the one partaking of the nature of the Yin, the other partaking of the nature of the Yang. These two soul elements went by different names, the most common being the *p'o* (魄), an earthly soul related to the Yin, and the *hun* (魂), an etherial soul related to the Yang.

K'ang Hsi's dictionary explains that the hun and the p'o are the names given to man's spiritual nature, 'shen ling' (神靈). The spirit, 'ling', which appertains to the form, 'hsing' (形), is the p'o. The spirit, 'shen' (神), which appertains to the breath or vital essence, ch'i' (氣), is the hun [17]).

The p'o is the yin spiritual essence, the animal spirit, that which gives perception to the eyes and ears and the other senses, that which is the ruling element in man's emotive nature. It is the first to be created when man is constituted. Wieger is probably right in connecting it with the sperm, so that it becomes a constituent of human nature at conception [18]), whereas the hun only enters with the first breath after birth. What gives form to the physical body is the p'o. At death the spiritual essence of the p'o becomes a ghost, kuei. This animal essence returns to the earth, because it is the spiritual part of man's nature which inheres in the body.

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17) See K'ang Hsi's dictionary under 'hun' (魂).

18) L. WIEGER, *Hist. of Rel. Beliefs and Phil. Opinions in China,* Engl. Tr. Hsien Hsien, 1927, p. 120.

The hun is the yang spiritual element. The character has affiliation with characters for fragrant rue, misty vapour and clouds, with what comes out of the mouth, breath or vapour. Together the hun and the p'o make up the soul. At death the hun departs first, so that to die is to 'sever or cut off the hun'; to lose one's wits is to 'lose the hun'; to return to life is to 'receive back the hun'.

At death the hun becomes a 'shen', a divine being akin to the shen of heaven, which is the mysterious producer and transformer of all things so that words cannot explain it. But the status of man's shen at death is comparatively lowly. As worshipped at the ancestral tablets it is called 'chia shen' (家神), and the term 'seat of the spirit' 'shen wei' or 'shen chu' 神位, 神主 was inscribed on the ancestral tablet to signify that in the place where the tablet stood was the *ritual place* of the person honoured in the ceremony. Before these tablets offerings are presented and important events in the life of the family are communicated to the spirits of the ancestors [19]).

One of the earliest references to the doctrine of the two souls is attributed to the statesman Tzu Ch'an, in the *Tso Chuan* under the year 535 B.C. The late prince, Pai Yu, being denied the usual offerings made to the deceased, had appeared on several occasions each time announcing the date on which he would cause to die a person whom he designated, and on the day in question the person died. Tzu Ch'an, being appealed to, said, "When a man is born, that which first forms is called the p'o. When the p'o comes to birth the yang (essence enters) which is called the hun. By partaking much of the essence of things the hun and the p'o are strong, so that the man is full of vitality so as to become a spiritual being (after death). When ordinary men and women meet violent death, their hun and p'o are still able to hang round the living so as to do vicious deeds..... Now Pai Yu, liberal in the use of things, assimilated much of their essences. He belonged to a great family. He had strong connections. As he was violently done to death it is understandable that he should appear as a ghost (kuei)" [20]).

Detailed illustration of the doctrine of the two souls would take too long, especially as, according to some accounts, there were three hun

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19) DORÉ, *Chinese Superstitions*, Vol. 1. pp. 97-108. (Engl. Tr. Shanghai, 1914).
20) *Tso Chuan*, Chao Kung 7th. yr. Cf. J. LEGGE, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. 5, Pt. 2, p. 613.

and seven p'o. It seems, however, that immortality had to be physical, and it was not till Buddhism became popular in China that physical immortality lost its peculiar significance. A statement is made in the Book of Rites, a Han dynasty compilation which attempts to foist the doctrine on to Confucius. "The disciple Tsai Wo said, 'I have heard the names kuei and shen, but I do not know what they mean'. Confucius replied, 'The intelligent spirit is of the shen nature and shows that in the fullest measure; the animal soul is of the kuei nature and shows that in fullest measure. It is the union of the kuei and shen that forms the highest exhibition of doctrine. All the living must die, and, dying, return to the earth. That is what we call kuei. The bones and the flesh moulder away below, and, hidden away, become the earth of the fields. But the spirit issues forth and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness' " [21]).

The developed doctrine is set forth in the *Shu Chu Tzu*, a Taoist work of the thirteenth century A.D. "The human personality is said to have two souls, the hun and the p'o. The hun is yang, pure and intelligent; the p'o is yin, turbid and dark. The true man nourishes the hun, whist the majority of mankind nourish the p'o". "At birth the p'o is produced first and then the hun. At death the hun first departs, and afterwards the p'o is dissipated". "In a living man the hun and the p'o live together in a harmonious relationship like man and wife. At death they separate, the hun to rise, the p'o to descend, and they no longer have any mutual regard for each other". "If a former hun can obtain a new p'o it can return to life. The p'o of a dead man, if it can receive the vital force, can also return to life". "When the bones decay the p'o is also destroyed. There are cases in which the p'o has not been dissipated for a hundred years. No hun can exist for more than five generations" [22]).

Buddhism came to China in the first century A.D., but it was only very gradually that its teachings were translated and its tenets understood. It was not till the period of the disunity following on the fall of the Han in the third to the fifth centuries A.D. that Buddhism began to make rapid headway. The schools of Buddhism which became most popular in China taught the immortality of the soul, and the existence

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21) *Li Chi*, Book 21, Section 2: 1. Cf. *S. B. E.*, Vol. 28, p. 220.

22) L. WIEGER, *Textes Philosophiques*, Hien-hien, China, 1930, pp. 346 ff. (My transl.).

of heavens and hells. Hui Yüan, who lived from 334-416 A.D., expressed the popular Buddhist theory of reincarnation, and interpreted the cycle of transmigration to mean that there was an enduring entity or soul which does not perish. As a modern Chinese writer, Kenneth Ch'en, writes, "In Chinese Buddhism the idea of an indestructible soul was developed at an early age; this soul was forever transmigrating in a sea of misery because of evil karma. The path to emancipation would be the extirpation of the evil passions and intentions that begot karma. Once karma was exhausted the person returned to a pure state, nirvana, which was entirely free from karma and from all desire for existence. During the Wei and Chin dynasties such ideas were already flourishing among the Chinese Buddhist circles" [23]).

Hui Yüan, in setting forth the Chinese Buddhist belief, had to combat two alternative views. The first was that the body and soul are indivisible, being but finer and coarser aspects of one vital force. As long as the body exists the soul does also. When the body perishes, the soul likewise perishes. The second theory was that body and soul are originally distinct, but that during life the soul finds a place in the body as fire does in wood. When the wood is burned up the fire has no longer anything on which to sustain itself and therefore dissipates.

It was a commonly accepted belief among Chinese scholars, and common to both these theories, that the vital force, ch'i (氣), was confined to a single life. With the termination of that life nothing is left but non-being, for the vital force melts away. Thus soul, though recognised as a mysterious component of human nature, is the product of the yin and the yang evolutions. They evolve and produce life. Again they evolve and produce death. With their coalescence there is a beginning, and with their dispersion an end.

Yet the hunger for significance for the 'self' and its persistence after death was great. Buddhism was holding out to men a hope of some form of survival, and if Taoism was to maintain its hold on the populace it needed some doctrine which offered abiding significance to human personality and a hope of some form of immortality. Neo-Taoism, in the early centuries of the Christian era, did in fact rival Buddhism as a popular religion for the masses, for it offered various

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23) *Chinese Culture,* Vol. 1. No. 2. Taiwan, Oct. 1957, p. 43. Art: Neo-Taoism and the Prajna school during the Wei and Chin Dynasties.

techniques by which the essences which had coalesced to form a human being might be nurtured, developed and strengthened so that the body, stript of all that causes corruption, dissolution and mortality, might achieve immortality and live everlastingly. In this connection we might quote Henri Maspero: "Taoism is a religion of salvation which aims to lead the faithful to eternal life. And if the Taoists, in their search for eternal life, conceived it, not as a spiritual immortality, but as a material immortality in another world, it was because this solution was for them the only one possible. In the Graeco-Roman world spirit and matter came to be set over against each other, and this found expression in their religious conceptions, in the idea of the opposition of a single spiritual soul to a material body. For the Chinese, who had never separated spirit and matter, but for whom the universe is a continuum in which material phenomena continually cross over from the void, the soul never took this role of an invisible and spiritual counterpart to the visible and material body. Furthermore, in every man there were enough soults to counterbalance the body. Every man had two groups of souls, three superior souls (hun) and seven inferior souls (p'o), and if there existed diverse beliefs as to what became of these souls in the other world, all agreed in recognising that they became separated at death. In life, as in death, these souls were most indefinite, vague and feeble. After death, when this small troop of colourless spirits was dispersed, how could they possibly be gathered together and reformed into a unity? On the other hand, the body is unique, and serves as the dwelling place of all these spirits. Thus it is only in the body that one can conceive of the possibility of obtaining for the living personality continued immortality, rather than being divided into several personalities of which each, a mere fragment of the living man, lives its own separate existence" [24]). A material body thus being absolutely necessary, the Taoists came to believe that, for those already dead, it was possible by means of appropriate prayers and ceremonies to ensure that a new body would be created for them in the other world. But they did not conceive this as the normal way by which to acquire immortality. The conservation of the living body was always thought of as the normal method. Thus the life of the mortal body must be prolonged, or else replaced during the course of life by an immortal and incorruptible body. The organs of

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24) H. MASPERO, *Le Taoisme*, Paris 1950, p. 16-17 (My tr.).

this immortal body, skin, bones, flesh etc., which would gradually replace the mortal and corruptible organs, were slowly formed within oneself by means of specified Taoist techniques. The adept who did this would not die, but would 'mount to the sky in the full light of day'.

Taoism pointed to numerous Taoist immortals who, having succeeded in this life in perfecting the techniques by which they had become immortal, now lived in the 'blessed land of the immortals'. These adepts had left behind them esoteric teachings to assist their disciples to the same end. The process of developing the 'spiritual essence' (ching, 精,) the 'vital force' (ch'i, 氣) or the 'spirit' (shen, 神) that lies within us was known as 'lien tan' (煉丹) or compounding the pill. The process was of two kinds, an inner and an outer. The outer consisted of various drugs and potions which were thought to confer immortality. The inner consisted of various methods, — dietary rules, breath control, strict rules of morality, abstinence, asceticism etc. —, by which the 'vital force' was nourished and strengthened.

Yet other Taoists taught that, as the attempt to gain immortality ran directly counter to the natural and inevitable processes of life and death, immortality could only be achieved by gaining control over the forces of nature. If through prolonged study or by magical means one could learn to understand the interactions of the yin and the yang, he could gain complete mastery over them and become independent of their workings.

There were also Taoist teachers who stressed the belief that in every man there was a 'root' which partook of the nature of the Tao. The Tao was eternal, immortal and self-existent. Therefore, if a man consistently followed the processes by which he 'returned to the root', in doing so he attained to immortality. How far these ideas influenced the Buddhist doctrine of the Buddha nature, or the 'truly so' it is difficult to say. Certainly in China Buddhism same to accept, almost universally, the idea of a 'real self', a Buddha nature in all men; indeed, in all sentient life. The possibility of realising this Buddha nature was held out to all men, and by such realisation they would be released from the chain of transmigration and attain to nirvana.

The terrible persecution of Buddhism, and indeed of all foreign religions, which cultimated in 845 A.D. opened the way for a revival of Confucianism. Neo-Confucianism, which reached its full development

in the Sung dynasty ,and of which Chu Hsi was the greatest exponent (1130-1200 A.D.), was not unaffected by Taoist and Buddhist ideas of the soul and its destiny, but it sharply criticised both. Chu Hsi taught that the two souls of man are both material. Produced by condensation, they end by being dispersed as smoke disperses when a fire is quenched. To say that a soul survives death is a Buddhist error. The souls of those who have died before their time, not having fulfilled their allotted span; and the souls of Buddhist monks who have meditated long, being strong; their dissolution is not immediate. Thus Chu Hsi was able to give a rational explanation to such phenomena as apparitions and ghosts. But these were ephemeral survivals which do not last. The souls of ancestors who have died no longer exist, but their descendants offer them worship as a profession of gratitude for the generative act by which the ancestors transmitted life to their descendants.

The neo-Confucian attitude is summed up by Chang Tsai (1020-1077 A.D.) who criticised Buddhist and Taoist teaching as having no real significance. "As for those" he said, "who speak about Nirvana, they mean by this a departure (from the universe) which leads to no return. As for those who seek for life and cling to existence, they mean by this a (continued) existence as a being who yet undergoes no transformation". He taught that our real aim should be simply to perform each day the duties belonging to that day, serene in the consciousness that the coming of death merely means our return to the Great Void from which we came. In his famous writing, the *Hsi Ming* or *'Western Inscription'*, he ends by writing, "In life I shall serve unresistingly, and when death comes I shall be at peace" [25]). This well represents the Confucian attitude to life and death. The soul and the body are alike formed of the same 'vital forces' which in temporary association produce life, and life ceases to be with the dispersal of those forces at death.

Neo-Confucianism became orthodoxy and remained so down to modern times, but its teaching concerning the soul and its destiny was able to satisfy only the very few, and even the scholar class tended to find in the insights of Buddhism and Taoism a hope of life beyond the grave, and in the ministrations of their priests a source of consolation as they stood face to face with the awful mystery of death.

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25) Quoted from FUNG YU-LAN, *A Hist. of Chinese Philosophy*, London, 1953, Vol. 2. p. 495.

PROPHETISMUS UND HEILSERWARTUNGS-BEWEGUNGEN BEI DEN NIEDRIGEN KULTUREN.

VON

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Eine der historisch und geographisch weitverbreitesten Kulturerscheinungen der menschlichen Geschichte ist das „prophetische" Phänomen und die mit ihm so eng verbundene „messianische" Idee. Beide sind von bedeutendem Interesse sowohl für die Völkerkunde, als auch für die Religionsgeschichte, die Religionsphilosophie und die Religionspsychologie.

Der besonders in den letzten Jahren sich ergebende Fortschrift der Ethnologie hat klar ergeben, dass das prophetische Phänomen kein Vorrecht der Völker der Hochkulturen ist, sondern dass dasselbe bei den Naturvölkern sehr oft anzutreffen ist, dass es dort eine weite Verbreitung hat. Nicht geringeres Interesse fanden bei den Vertretern der religiösen Disziplinen seit ungefähr fünfzig Jahren die Mitteilungen der Missionäre und der Ethnologen über das prophetische Phänomen und über alle jene tendenziell messianischen, heute auch „nativistisch", „revitalistisch" genannten Bewegungen, die seit vielen Jahrzehnten bei den Primitiven festgestellt worden sind. Leider besitzen wir noch keine grosse Anzahl von Materialsammlungen und direkten Beschreibungen, die eine tiefgreifende Erforschung der Tatsachen in allen ihren psychologischen, soziologischen und religiösen Äusserungen erlauben, wie G. Höltker mit Recht betont hat: „Es wäre dringend notwendig, dass möglichst genaue Berichte über Bewegungen dieser Art von Missionären, die unmittelbar damit zu tun und einen guten Einblick in die örtlichen Verhältnisse haben, publiziert würden. Ethnologie und Missiologie wären dankbar dafür" [1]).

Zuerst, um eine bessere und deutlichere Terminologie des Phänomens erstellen zu können, glauben wir, dass es besser ist, vom Messianismus der Hochkulturen und vom Heilserwartungsglauben der niedrigen Kulturen zu sprechen. In den Hochkulturen wird immer die Idee, eine his-

1) G. HÖLTKER, „Schwarmgeister in Neuguinea während des letzten Krieges", *Neue Zeitschr. f. Missionwissensch.*, 2, 1946, 216.

torische Person als Heiland bzw. Erlöser zu erwarten oder eine historische Volksmission zu erfüllen, besonders klar und stark betont. Bei den primitiven Kulturen ist dagegen die Vorstellung eines bestimmten Messias sehr wenig klar formuliert. Die Erlösung als Geschehnis wird von den Propheten nebelhaft vorgezeichnet und vom Volk so verstanden, aber nicht durch einen konkreten Erlöser und Heiland erwartet. Auch der Heilbringer wird besser als eine mythologische Gestalt, manchmal als ein Schamane, manchmal als ein Prophet, sehr selten als ein historischer Held vorgestellt [2]). Wir sind ganz einverstanden mit A. van Deursen, der über die „Ghost-Dance"-Bewegung vieler Indianerstämme Nordamerikas schreibt: „Die sogenannte Geistertanzbewegung ist jedoch auch ausgebrochen unter den Stämmen, welche keine Wiederkunft des Heilbringers erwarten. Deshalb geht man zu weit, wenn man im „Ghost-Dance Movement" eine messianische Bewegung sieht" [3]).

Gewiss ist es eine sehr schwere Aufgabe, die Elemente des prophetischen Phänomens bei den Naturvölkern zu isolieren, weil die Figur des Propheten in den niedrigen Kulturen sehr kompliziert ist: er ist sehr oft auch Wahrsager, Magier, Regenmacher, Geisterbeschwörer, Schamane und Medizinmann. Manchmal ist die prophetische Gabe mit Autorität so eng verbunden, dass die Häuptlinge bei einigen Stämmen, wie z.B. im polynesischen Gebiet, von Göttern unmittelbar inspiriert zu sein glauben [4]).

Der Prophet oder die Propheten, wenn sie sich durch besondere Begabung und durch offizielle Berufung in ihrer primitiven Gesellschaft als wahre Propheten erwiesen haben, besitzen eine grosse Autorität nicht nur im religiösen Leben ihrer Gemeinschaft, sondern auch im sozialen und politischen Bereich [5]). Sehr oft wird die Weltanschauung der primitiven Völker durch die Verkündigungen der Propheten beeinflusst oder total modifiziert. Manchmal vertritt ein Prophet die Monogamie, ein anderer die Polygamie, die nach ihm in der Bibel nirgends verboten wäre. Ein anderer predigt die Vernichtung sämtlicher Fetische, wieder ein anderer die Zerstörung aller Gegenstände europäischer Kultur. Weitere Propheten treten für eine völlige Besitzlosigkeit ein,

2) A. van Deursen, *Der Heilbringer,* Batavia 1931, 351.

3) Ibid., 376.

4) F. R. Lehmann, „Prophetismus in der Südsee", *Christentum und Wissensch.,* 1934, 56-68.

5) vgl. D. Emmet, „Prophets and their Societies", *Journ. Royal Anthr. Inst. Gr. Brit. and Irel.,* 1956, 13-23.

für völligen Kommunismus, für Nachtheit, für Genuss fleischloser Speisen und verurteilen das Trinken von Branntwein usw. [6]). Auch die Eschatologie, nämlich die Vorstellung über die letzten Ereignisse der Menschheit, wird oft von den Propheten bei den Naturvölkern in Krisenzeiten abgeändert. Ein Leitmotiv dieser eschatologischen Prophezeiungen ist die Formulierung: „Das Ende der Welt ist nahe". Dieser Glaube ist in fast allen Gebieten, in welchen der Prophetismus lebt, sehr verbreitet.

Man kann ruhig behaupten, dass es nach dem Zeitpunkt des Auftretens von Propheten bei den Naturvölkern früher oder später zu prophetischen Bewegungen kommt. Nur diesem gut umgrenzten Typus von Prophetismus, wollen wir unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmen, nicht jeder beliebigen Art von Weissagung (z.B. den Wahrsagungen der Regenmacher oder der Zauberer): d.h. wir wollen den sozialen Prophetismus behandeln, in welchem ein Prophet oder eine Gruppe von Propheten eine von Himmel kommende Heilsbotschaft ihrem ganzen Volk verständlich machen und auslegen. Dieser Prophetismus zieht gewöhnlich viele Bewegungen nach sich, die mehr oder weniger eine Heilserwartung in sich schliessen.

Eine allgemeine Charakteristik dieser Bewegungen ist ihre tendenziell revolutionäre Natur, sodass diese prophetischen Bewegungen manchmal eine tiefe Veränderung auch in der historischen Entwicklung eines Volkes bewirken [7]). Viele andere Tendenzen mit ihren verschiedenen Richtungen erweisen sich in diesen Bewegungen, die deswegen in der Fachliteratur mit mehreren Namen, als „nativistische", „revitalistische", „vitalistische", „Cargo-Kult" und „messianische" bezeichnet werden [8]).

Wir haben in unserer ethnologischen Erforschung 177 solcher Bewegungen bei den Naturvölkern Amerikas, Ozeaniens, Australiens, Afrikas und Asiens analysiert und verglichen, und wir sind zur Uberzeugung gelangt, dass die wichtigsten Richtungen der prophetischen Bewegungen sieben sind, von denen einige immer, während andere nur manchmal oder gar nicht erscheinen. Diese sieben Richtungen erlauben

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6) K. Schlosser, „Der Prophetismus in niederen Kulturen", *Z.f.E.* 75, 1950, 67.

7) vgl. G. Eckert, „Das Prophetentum und sein Einfluss auf Geschichte und Kulturentwicklung der Naturvölker", *Forschungen und Fortschr.*, 17, 1941, 59-63.

8) Siehe: A. Wallace, „Revitalisation Movements", *Amer. Anthr.*, 58, 1956, 264-82.

uns eine Typologie der Heilserwartungsbewegungen aufzustellen, die wir, der Vollständigkeit halber, in folgende sieben Benennungen unterteilt haben: 1) *Nativismus* (das Streben fremde Elemente, die in der eigenen Kultur aufgenommen worden waren, zu eliminieren); 2) *Revitalismus* (die Wiedererweckung mancher Elemente, die in der früheren eigenen Kultur lebendig waren und es heute nicht mehr sind); (3) *Cargo-Kult* (Erwartung einer gegenwärtigen Rettung durch fremde Mittel, die mit Schiffen aus fernen Ländern kommen sollen); 4) *Vitalismus* (auch eine Erwartung fremder Güter, aber ohne „mechanische" Einfuhr); 5) die *eschatologische Richtung,* die bessere Zeiten, durch die Erneuerung der Welt als Folge einer drohenden Katastrophe erhofft; 6) *Chiliasmus* oder *Millenarismus* (Erwartung besserer Zeiten in einem kommenden irdischen, mit Totenkult und auch Weltende verbundenen Paradies); 7) *messianische Hoffnungen* (Erwartung einer Rettung durch ein ausserordentliches Geschehen, z.B. Rückkehr der Ahnen, Auferstehung der Vorfahren, oder durch eine mythische Gestalt wie Heilbringer, Kulturheros, sowie auch durch „Christus" unter christlichem oder durch „Mahdi" unter mohammedanischem Einfluss) [9]).

Was die Frage der Namensgebung betrifft, möchten wir bemerken, dass die vielen in der Fachliteratur vorgeschlagen Benenungen, wie „prophetische", „messianische" Bewegungen im allgemeinen, oder „Revitalisation Movements" (A. Wallace) [10]) oder auch „Schwarmgeistereien" (G. Höltker) [11]) im besonderen, nur einen einzigen Aspekt

9) Die Schwierigkeiten, eine Typologie dieser Bewegungen aufzustellen, werden von der Redaktion der Zeitschrift „Archives de Sociologie des Religions" (Paris 1957, Juli-Dezember, n. 4., Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) offen zugegeben. Unter dem zusammenfassenden und allgemeinen Titel „Messianismes et Millénarismes, veröffentlicht sie (pp. 1-157) eine Anzahl wertvoller und für unsere Synthese sehr nützlicher Beiträge von J. Guiart, J. Eberhardt, H. Desroche, P. L. Berger, A. Métraux, M. Wax und H. van Straelen. Die grösste Schwierigkeit scheint zu sein, „eine gemeinsame Linie der Auffassung" (un outillage conceptuel commun) (p. 2) herauszuarbeiten. Einerseits will man vom ethnologischen Aspekt aus, „eine Geographie der heutigen Messianismen und Chiliasmen" erreichen, anderseits vom soziologischen Aspekt des abendländischen Christentums aus, wenn möglich, zu „einer historischen Soziologie der christlichen Messianismen und Chiliasmen der letzten 20 Jahrhunderte" kommen. Während wir für den analytischen Teil unserer Abhandlung die erwähnten Beiträge beiziehen wollen, sind wir immer mehr überzeugt, dass unser Versuch dazu beiträgt, eine zusammenfassende Typologie der Heilserwartungsbewegungen aufzustellen. Auch die von uns vorgeschlagene Benennung „Heilserwartungsbewegungen" kann von grossen Nutzen sein.

10) *Art. cit.*

11) *Art. cit.*, 204-205.

der prophetischen Bewegungen ausdrücken. Wir schlagen deshalb eine umfassendere Benennung vor, nämlich den Terminus „Heilserwartungsbewegungen". Wir sehen in dieser Bezeichnung die beste Benennung aller prophetischen Bewegungen, weil sowohl die religiösen als auch die politischen („revitalistic", „nativistic", „Cargo-Kult", „vitalistic") Strömungen und weiters die eschatologischen, die chiliastischen, und die messianischen Erwartungen in diesem Begriff „Heilswartung" eingeschlossen sind. Man darf nicht vergessen, dass diese prophetischen Bewegungen fast immer in Krisenzeiten aufflammen und das Volk grundsätzlich nichts anderes als ein Heil erwartet, entweder aus der Vergangenheit eine Erneuerung der Kultur oder in der Zukunft das Erscheinen von geheimnissvollen Personen, Dingen und Ereignissen, oder auch in der Gegenwart einen Überfluss an Gütern. Dieser unser Terminus sollte auch in anderen Sprachen Eingang finden [12]).

Wie viele solcher Heilserwartungsbewegungen gibt es nun? Bei unseren ethnologischen Forschungen haben wir uns mit vier Kontinenten beschäftigt ,da in Europa von Heilserwartungsbewegungen primitiver Völker keine Rede sein kann. Wir haben, wie schon erwähnt, bei unserem Studium, 177 Heilserwartungsbewegungen gefunden und durchforscht. Selbstverständlich ist die angeführte Zahl unvollständig und mangelhaft, aber unsere Bemühung läuft darauf hinaus, später [13]) eine möglichst vollständige Erfassung durchzuführen [14]).

Was Amerika anbetrifft, finden wir prophetische Heilserwartungsbewegungen sowohl in Nordamerika, wie auch in Mittel- und Südamerika. In Nordamerika haben wir die „Ghost-Dance"-Bewegung besonders studiert: d.h. sowohl die Vorläufer dieser Bewegung und die „Ghost-Dance"-Bewegung selbst mit ihrer mannigfaltigen Äusserun-

12) Wir schlagen folgende terminologische Übersetzungen vor: *Italienisch*: „Movimenti salvifici"; *Französisch*: „Movements sauveurs"; *Englisch*: „Salvation movements".

13) Eine Abhandlung über dieses Thema als Doktordissertation für Völkerkunde unter der Leitung der Professoren P. W. Koppers und J. Haekel ist bereits an der Universität Wien vorgelegt und approbiert worden. Wir hoffen in einem Jahr unsere Arbeit ergänzen und veröffentlichen zu können.

14) A. Wallace sagt in seinem schon erwähnten Artikel: „Revitalisation Movements", dass die Zahl der Fälle des prophetischen Phänomens, von denen er Kenntnis hat, *hundert* erreicht und mit fleissigen Erforschungen vielleicht *tausend* erreichen könnte: „An earnest attempt to collect all revitalisation movements described in historical, anthropological and other sorts of documents, would without question gather in thousand". In Wirklichkeit hat er aber in seiner hier gebotenen Liste nur 17 „revitalisation movements" verzeichnet. Siehe Art. 264.

gen der Jahre 1870 und 1890, als auch in ihrer „Diffusion and acceptance", wie z.B. der Widerstand der Sioux gegen die Weissen im Jahre 1890, die revitalistische Bewegung der Pawnee, die Ablehnung der Bewegung durch die Navaho und die religiöse Entwicklung bei den Delaware-Indianern. Auch in Nordamerika haben wir die messianischen Tendenzen bei den Indianernstämmen erforscht, besonders bei den Algonkinstämmen, Irokesen, Sioux und Caddostämmen, südöstlichen und Nordweststämmen, Dénéstämmen, Südwestindianern und kalifornischen Indianern. Es sind in ganzem 67 Heilserwartungsbewegungen. In Mittelamerika haben wir uns mit dem Widerstand der Urbewohner Mexicos gegen die einfallenden Weissen zur Zeit der „Conquista" (3 Heilserwartungsbewegungen) beschäftigt. In Südamerika sind besonders interessant die prophetischen Freiheitsbewegungen im Caucatal (in Kolumbien), die eschatologisch-chiliastischen Wanderungen der Tupi-Guaranì (in Brasilien), die prophetische Begeisterung und Vergöttlichung bei den Chiriguanos (in Paraguay) und die Heilbringererwartung in Peru: in ganz Südamerika 14 Heilserwartungsbewegungen.

Im ozeanischen Gebiet ist der Prophetismus, geographisch gesehen, weit verbreitet. Während die prophetischen Bewegungen in Australien wenig oder gar nicht vorhanden sind, spriessen sie auf allen Inseln der Südsee, besonders auf Neuguinea, hervor. Historisch betrachtet stösst unsere Forschung nicht so weit vor wie in Amerika, weil die erste prophetische Bewegung, die uns bekannt ist, im Jahre 1893 vom südwestlichen Gebiet der Papua im nördlichen Teil von Milne Bay, in Gabugana stattfand [15]). Wir haben in ganzem ozeanischen Gebiet 56 Heilserwartungsbewegungen erforscht und analysiert: 30 in Neuguinea, 20 in übrigem Melanesien, nämlich im Bismarck-Archipel, in den Salomon-Inseln, in den Neu-Hebriden und in Neu-Kaledonien, 5 in Polynesien und Mikronesien und schliesslich den Weltendesglaube der Eingeborenen Australiens.

Der Prophetismus ist über den ganzen Erdteil Afrika verbreitet [16]). Geographisch gesehen, bevorzugt der afrikanische Prophetismus keine Rasse und kein Gebiet, weil man bei jeder afrikanischen Rasse und in fast allen Kulturprovinzen Prophetismus vorfindet. Von den siebenundzwanzig von H. Baumann („Völkerkunde von Afrika") aufgestellten

15) T.Bodrogi, „Colonisations and religious Movements in Melanesia", *Acta Ethn. Acad. Scientiar. Hungaricae*, II, 1-4, 1951, 259-292. Siehe auch: P. Worsley, *The trumpet shall sound. A study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia*, London 1957.

16) K. Schlosser, *Propheten in Afrika*, Braunschweig 1949, 400.

Kulturprovinzen, sind nur fünf anscheinend frei von Prophetismus: die Buschmann-, Herero- und Pygmäen-Provinzen, die Ostküstenprovinz und die Voltaprovinz [17]). Historisch betrachtet, weist der afrikanische Prophetismus ein hohes Alter auf, denn wir haben Nachrichten über prophetische Einwirkungen in Afrika schon vom 8. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert (sicher haben die Prophetin Al-Kalina um 700 n. Ch. und der Prophet Salin Ben Tarif um 750 n. Ch. gewirkt). Was die Inspiration des afrikanischen Prophetismus anlangt, sind drei Hauptquellen vorhanden, aus denen die Propheten Afrikas ihre Lehre genommen und erhalten haben: 1) aus den alteinheimischen Religionen Afrikas (4 prophetische Bewegungen); 2) aus der islamischen Religion (12 prophetische Bewegungen); 3) aus dem protestantischen Missionschristentum (11 prophetische Bewegungen). Im allgemeinen gesagt, zeigt der afrikanische Prophetismus, besonders in seinen rezenten Äusserungen, eine unerwartete Einheit in einer gemeinsamen Richtung, nämlich dem Streben nach politischer Freiheit. G. Balandier hat richtig betont: „*Réaction essentiellement religieuse en apparence, ces mouvements manifestent rapidement un aspect politique*" [18]).

Was den asiatischen Prophetismus und Heilserwartungsglauben betrifft, müssen wir bekennen, dass unsere Kenntnis dieses Gebietes nur fragmentarisch sein kann. Das Erforschungsmaterial ist leider sehr gering. Gewiss ist eine systematische Forschung infolge der räumlichen Ausdehnung des Gebietes und wegen der Komplexität verschiedener Kulturen nicht leicht durchzuführen: viele niederen Kulturen zeigen in ihren entwickelt religiösen Anschauungen und in ihren chiliastischen Hoffnungen starke Einflüsse vom Hinduismus, Buddhismus und von anderen Religionen der asiatischen Hochkulturen. Geographisch zeigt der asiatische Prophetismus eine starke Tendenz zur Expansion: die bis jetzt bekannten Fälle lassen seine Verbreitung in fast allen Gebieten dieses Erdteiles vermuten. Wir finden Heilserwartungsbewegungen sowohl in Norden, in West-Sibirien (eine nativistische Bewegung bei den Altai-Türken) [19]), als auch in Zentralasien, im Tibet (die Kesarsage bei den Tibetern) [20]) vor. Wir entdecken dieses Phänomen in

17) Schlosser, *op. cit.*, 400.
18) G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire,* Paris 1955, 417.
19) L. Krader, „A nativistic Movement in Western Siberia", *Amer. Anthr.,* 58, 1956, 282-292.
20) H. Franke, *Geistesleben im Tibet,* Göttingen 1925.

Indien bei den Munda-Völkern [21]) und im Lushailand [22]). Wir könnten auch einige Fälle aus Französisch Indochina [23]), aus Java, Borneo und Celebes [24]), auf den Philippinen [25]), und in Japan [26]) anführen. Historisch betrachtet führt der asiatische Prophetismus nicht sehr weit in die Vergangenheit zurück, sondern nur bis in das vorige Jahrhundert, aber es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass er älter sein dürfte, besonders in jenen Gebieten, in welchen er einen Einfluss durch Hochreligionen erfuhr. Aber diese Vermutung kann nicht als Beweis angesehen werden. In Asien sind die Heilserwartungsbewegungen, nach unserer Kenntnis, nur 10.

Es ist jetzt interressant die Resultate der Analyse der 177 von uns erforschten und studierten Heilserwartungsbewegungen, nach ihren innigen Tendenzen, in einer vergleichenden Tabelle zusammenzufassen um hiermit den Versuch einer allgemeinen Interpretation zu bieten. Wenn wir die Stimme der Zahlen der obigen vergleichenden Tabelle auslegen wollen, gehen viele interessante Folgerungen deutlich hervor:
1. Zuerst ist es interessant zu bemerken, wie stark die nativistische Richtung im Heilserwartungsglauben der ganzen Welt ausgeprägt ist (123/177). Und man darf nicht vergessen, dass der *Nativismus* Versuch bedeutet, fremde Elemente aus der eigenen Kultur oder fremde Personen aus dem eigenen Land zu verstossen und Hass bedeutet gegen die Weissen (wie wir in den meisten Fällen konstatiert haben).
2. Die *revitalistische* Strömung ist in Amerika, im ozeanischen Gebiet, stark ausgeprägt, aber sie felht in Afrika völlig und ebenso in Asien. Est ist eine Tatsache, dass die Naturvölker Amerikas und Ozeaniens gerne in ihre Vergangenheit zurückschauen, während in Afrika und Asien dies kaum oder gar nicht gescheht. Und der Grund hiefür ist nicht leicht zu erklären.
3. Eine interessante Feststellung ist, dass der sogenannte *Cargo-Kult,* d.h. die Erwartung einer Erlösung aus der Not durch fremde mit mechanischen Mitteln eingeführte Hilfe, nur eine ethnologische Erschei-

21) J. Hoffmann, *Encyclopedia Mundarica,* Bd. II, Paris 1950, 565-571.
22) A. G. Mc Gall, *Lushai Chrysalis,* London 1949.
23) G. Höltker, *op. cit.,* 201.
24) E. Sarkisyanz, *Russland und der Messianismus des Orients,* Tübingen 1955, 306.
25) J. Garvan, „The Manobos of Mindanao", *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences,* vol. XXIII, 1929, 229-240.
26) M. L. Carlyle, „The Dancing Religion: A Japanese Messianic Sect", *South. Journ. of Anthr.,* 10, 1954, 119-137.

Kontinent	Nativ.[27])	Revit.	Cargo	Vital.	Eschat.	Chil.	Messian.
AMERIKA							
Nord	40/67[28])	40/67		8/67	38/67	21/67	36/67
Mittel	1/3	1/3			1/3	1/3	1/3
Süd	4/14	10/14			10/14	10/14	4/14
	45/84	51/84		8/84	49/84	32/84	42/84
OZEANISCHES GEBIET							
Neuguinea	15/30	5/30	10/30	18/30	9/30	4/30	3/30
Übriges Melan.	18/20	5/20	8/20	4/20	4/20	2/20	
Polyn. u. Mikron.	4/5	1/5		1/5	5/5	1/5	2/5
Australien	1/1	1/1			1/1		1/1
	48/56	11/56	18/56	23/56	18/56	7/56	7/56
AFRIKA							
Alteinheim. Rel.	4/4				2/4	1/4	
Islam. Einfl.	11/12				3/12	3/12	9/12
Christ. Einfl.	10/11				5/11	1/11	3/11
	25/27				10/27	5/27	12/27
ASIEN							
Wenig Einfl. der Hochkulturen	2/3	1/3		2/3	1/3		2/3
Starker Einfl. d. Hochk.	3/4	2/4			1/4	1/4	3/4
Nur angedeute H.E. Bewegungen					2/3	2/3	
	5/10	3/10		2/10	3/10	3/10	5/10
TOTAL	123/177	65	18	33	80	47	65

nung des ozeanischen Gebietes ist. Auch in dem ozeanischen Gebiet aber ist diese Tendenz nicht so, wie man es glaubte, ausgeprägt: achtzehn Fälle unter 56 Heilserwartungsbewegungen bedeuten keinen grossen Anteil.

4. Die *vitalistische* Richtung, d.h. die Erwartung einer Erlösung aus der Not durch geistige, fremde Elemente, kommt besser zum Ausdruck: 25 Fälle unter 56 Heilserwartungsbewegungen im ozeanischen Gebiet, und auch einige Fälle in Nordamerika. Vielleicht glauben auch die Naturvölker eher an eine geistige als an eine problematische materielle Hilfe.

5. Die *eschatologische* Strömung mit ihrer starken Ausprägung in allen Kontinenten: Amerika (49/84); ozeanisches Gebiet (18/56); Afrika

27) Siehe oben p. 184.

28) Die erste Zahl zeigt die Tendenzen an, die zweite die Heilsbewegungen.

(10/27); Asien (3/10) beweist, dass der Gedanke des Todes der Menschheit durch eine drohende oder zukünftige Katastrophe ein gemeinsames Gut der ganzen primitiven Welt ist.

6. Auch die *chiliastische* Hoffnung, die bei den Naturvölkern so gehegt wird: Amerika (32/84); ozeanisches Gebiet (7/56); Afrika (5/27); Asien (3/10), bezeugt die Erwartung aller primitiven Völker auf ein kommendes irdisches Paradies.

7. Endlich ist die *messianische* Tendenz in allen Gebieten der Naturvölker wirklich vorhanden, als Erwartung einer zukünftigen Rettung, sei es durch ein ausserordentliches Geschehen, sei es durch eine widerkommende mythologische Gestalt: Amerika (42/84); ozeanisches Gebiet (7/56); Afrika (12/27); Asien (5/10).

Gewöhnlich sind die drei letzten Tendenzen eng miteinander verbunden und das ist leicht zu verstehen: die Erwartung besserer Zeiten (irdisches Paradies) ist fast immer in den Seelen der Primitiven mit einer Erneuerung der Welt, entweder durch eine drohende Katastrophe oder durch die Hilfe eines kommenden ausserordentlichen Geschehens verbunden. Eine andere Feststellung ist ebenso nicht schwer zu verstehen: wo der Cargo-Kult und die mit ihm verbundene vitalistische Richtung evident erscheinen, treten überhaupt wenige chiliastische und messianische Hoffnungen auf (wie es im ozeanischen Gebiet der Fall ist) und umgekehrt (wie es in den anderen Erdteilen vorkommt). Etwas ist klar: wenn die Primitiven eine unmittelbare, entweder „mechanische" oder geistige Hilfe erwarten, gehen ihre Hoffnungen nicht einer zukünftigen unsicheren Hilfe nach.

Die Analyse der einzelnen Heilserwartungsbewegungen in ihren Grundelementen nach unserer oben festgestellten Typologie erlaubt uns auch die grosse Frage der Wirkfaktoren zu lösen. Die wichtigsten Faktoren des Ursprungs jeder prophetischen Heilserwartungsbewegung sind nicht weit zu suchen: entweder im Kontakt mit Weissen (Akkulturation, Missionierung, usw.) oder in der religiösen Mentalität der Primitiven oder auch in ihrer psychologischen Neigung. Natürlich kommen in den meisten Fällen die drei Faktoren zusammen, sodass wir denken, ein vollständiges Bild der Frage in vier Aspekten bieten zu können: 1) der kulturell soziale Aspekt, 2) die politischen Einwirkungen, die mit dem sozialen Aspekt so eng verbunden sind, 3) der religiöse Hintergrund und 4) der mit ihm in engem Verhältnis stehende psychologische Zustand.

Vor allem kann man sagen, dass ein Gemeinplatz der Ethnologen und Soziologen ist: „In der Kontaktsituation der letzten Jahrzehnte sind Schwarmgeistereien und Prophetentumsbewegungen in grosser Zahl und in fast allen kolonialen Räumen beobachtet worden" [29]).

Nach unseren ethnologischen Erforschungen kann man behaupten, dass die Unabhängikheit des Prophetismus bei den Naturvölkern vom Einfluss der Hochkulturen nur für das in allgemeiner Weise gedachte Phänomen gültig ist. Aber wenn man von Prophetismus in Beziehung mit Heilserwartungsbewegungen spricht, gibt es, im Licht der Tatsachen, keine prophetische Heilserwartung ohne Kontakt mit der Zivilisation oder mit einer höheren Kultur. Unter den 177 von uns betrachteten Fällen haben wir keinen Fall entgegen unserer Behauptung vorgefunden. Auch für die 17 Fälle der messianischen, in ihren Mythen tief verwurzelten Hoffnungen bei einigen schon erwähten Nordamerikanischen Stämmen, gibt es bis jetzt keinen Beweis von einer Unabhängigkeit ihrer Mythen von weissen Einflüssen, es gilt vielmehr das Umgekehrte [30]).

Wie Wallace, Linton, Redfield, Herskovitz [31]) gut bemerkt haben, ist der Kulturkontakt als Akkulturation eine der hauptsächlichen Quellen der Heilserwartungsbewegungen. Eine allgemeine Konsequenz der Akkulturation ist die Kulturwandlung mit ihren vielen Störungen und Problemen, wie Bühler trefflich betont hat: „Man weiss heute zur Genüge, dass der Kulturkontakt und seine Folgerscheinungen in allen Teilen der Erde, wo in ihrer Entwicklung „zurückgebliebene" Völker mit der modernen Zivilisation in Berührung gekommen sind, zu schweren Störungen geführt hat und damit zu Problemen, die naturgemäss verantwortungsbewusste Administrationen und Missionen besonders belasten und beschäftigen" [32]).

Fast alle Strömungen der Heilserwartungsbewegungen, besonders die „nativistischen", die „revitalistischen", die „Cargo-Kultischen", die „vitalistischen" und die „chiliastischen" sind eine Reaktion der primitiven Völker gegen Kulturzerfall, den viele Ethnologen „deprivation" benennen. Ein sehr interessantes Problem, das zu behandeln ist, besteht

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29) K. SCHLOSSER, *Art. cit.*, 61.

30) Vgl. die Montezumasage, in DEURSEN, *op. cit.*, 228-293.

31) Siehe: A. WALLACE, *Art. cit.*; R. LINTON, „Nativistic Movements", *Amer. Anthr.*, 45, 1943, 230-240; REDFIELD, LINTON, HERSKOVITZ, „A memorandum for the Study of Acculturation", *Amer. Anthr.*, 38, 1935, 149-152.

32) A. BÜHLER, „Kulturkontakt und Kulturzerfall", *Acta Tropica*, 14, 1957, 1-35.

darin festzusetzen, ob dieser Wirkfaktor, d.h. „deprivation" (Kulturvakuum, Kulturvernichtung), als der einzige oder mindestens als der wichtigste Faktor aller Heilserwartungsbewegungen zu betrachten ist. Diese ist die These von B. Barber in einem sehr interessanten Artikel. Um seine These zu beweisen führt er viele Beispiele an. Es handelt sich meistens um Fälle der „Ghost-Dance"-Bewegung. Z.B. bemerkt er bezüglich der Sioux-Stämme: „When the buffaloes were destroyed, therefore the Sioux were deprived not only of food, but also of culturally significant activities" [33]). Nach seiner Ansicht wäre auch die Ablehnung der „Ghost-Dance"-Bewegung seitens der Navaho ein Beweis für seine These. Nach ihm hätten nämlich die Navaho diese Bewegung abgelehnt, weil bei ihnen keine „deprivation" vorhanden war. Aber die Sache verhält sich nicht so. Wie Hill sehr trefflich in seinem Artikel demonstriert hat [34]), hatte die Ablehnung der Navaho nur eine religiöse und mythische Ursache. Sie hätten die „Ghost-Dance"-Bewegung mit allen ihren versprochenen Wohltaten wohl begehrt, aber sie wollten keine Rückkehr der Toten akzeptieren. Für sie hätte es keine grössere Katastrophe geben können als die Wiederkehr der Toten, weil bei den Navaho eine grosse Totenfurcht herrscht [35]). So ist die sogenannte „deprivation" ein Wirkfaktor der Heilserwartungsbewegungen, aber nicht der einzige und nicht der wichtigste; dieselbe Bedeutung kommt auch dem religiösen Faktor zu, was auch A. Wallace betont, wenn er die Heilserwartungsbewegungen „religious revitalisation movements" nennt [36])

Ebenso interessant ist folgendes Problem; sind die Heilserwartungsbewegungen mit einem ganzen bestimmten Kulturtypus in Beziehung zu setzen, oder treten sie unabhängig von einem solchen auf?

Im Lichte der Tatsachen und als Folge des Endergebnisses unserer Vergleichsarbeit können wir sagen, dass die These einer engeren Verbindung zwischen einem bestimmten Kulturtypus und der Entstehung des prophetischen phänomens unbegründet ist und Beweise hiefür fehlen. Die Behauptung von V. Lanternari, dass „kein messianischer

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33) B. Barber, „Acculturation and Messianic Movements", *Amer. Sociol. Review*, 6, 1941, 664.

34) "The Navaho Indians and the Ghost Dance of 1890", *Amer. Anthr.*, 46. 1944, 523-527.

34) J. Haekel, Amerika (Stichwort), *Rel. Wissensch. Wörterb.*, Wien 1956, Sp. 42.

36) A. Wallace, *Art. cit.*, 279.

Kult bei den Sammel- oder Jägerkulturen zu finden sei" [37]), ist sehr gewagt. Wenn im ozeanischen Gebiet ein Zusammenhang der prophetischen Bewegungen mit einer Agrarkultur zu Tage tritt, müsste der Verfasser selbst ausreichend erklären, warum die Bewohner der Insel Manus, die einfache Fischer sind, eine prophetische Bewegung akzeptiert hatten; es ist dies ein Beispiel, das er selbst in einer Fussnote anführt [38]). Die von ihm zitierte Autorität für die Buschmänner und Pygmäen Afrikas (K. Schlosser) kann nur teilweise herangezogen werden. Schon bei der Zusammenfassung des Buches über „Propheten in Afrika" (1949), aber noch deutlicher im Artikel „Prophetismus bei den niederen Kulturen" (1950), hat K. Schlosser klar festgestellt: „Die Wirtschaftsformen, in denen wir Propheten finden, reichen vom reinen Hirtennomadismus über die Stufen des niederen Ackerbaues und des höheren Jägertums bis zu den Gebieten hochentwickelten Landbaues der alten mittel- und südamerikanischen Hochkulturen und enden im europäischen Plantagenbau und sonstiger Lohnarbeit für die Europäer" [39]). So kann gesagt werden, dass der Heilserwartungsglaube als geistige Kulturerscheinung der Krisenzeiten sich allen Kulturtypen anpasst, wenn auch seine Äusserungen nach den jeweiligen Sitten und den spezifischen Weltanschauungen der primitiven Völker, je nach Zeit und Stamm, seine Färbung bekommt.

Auch politische Einwirkungen, besonders die Enttäuschung über die „weisse" Zivilisation und ein scheinbarer Nationalismus, sind in fast allen Heilserwartungsbewegungen vorhanden. Aus allen Gebieten, in welchen die primitiven Völker in Berührung mit der weissen Zivilisation gekommen sind, können viele Beispiele dieser Enttäuschung angeführt werden. Wir glauben, die hauptsächlichen Fehler der weissen Zivilisierung auf zwei reduzieren zu können: ungeschickt und falsch durchgeführte Akkulturation und das zur Schau getragene Gefühl der Überlegenheit der Weissen über die Primitiven [40]). Kein Wunder, dass revolutionäre Bewegungen durch diese Gefühle der Eingeborenen entfacht werden. Fast alle diese Bewegungen verbergen unter dem Mantel

37) V. Lanternari, „Origini storiche dei culti profetici melanesiani", *Studi e materiali di St. d. Relig.*, 1956, 59.

38) V. Lanternari, *Art. cit.*, 58, Fussnote 6.

39) K. Schlosser, *Art. cit.*, 60.

40) vgl.: A. Lommel, „Der Cargo-Kult in Melanesien; ein Beitrag zum Problem der Europäisierung der Primitiven", *Z.f.E.*, LXXVIII, 17-63, besonders 48; und Bühler, Art. cit., 35.

der Religiösität einen starken Rassismus und einen beginnenden Nationalismus. Der Kontakt mit den Weissen lässt den Eingeborenen die Verschiedenheit zwischen dem Lebensstandard der Weissen und ihrem eigenen erkennen und der daraus resultierende Inferioritäts-Komplex, wie Bühler richtig betont, führt sie dazu, die eigene Rasse der der Weissen gleichzustellen. Diese Behauptung ist ein Gemeinplatz der Ethnologen, besonders für das ozeanische Gebiet: „Sehr bald wird das Verlangen nach dem höheren europäischen Lebensstandard und nach geistiger Bildung deutlich (Belshaw), doch entstehen die Bewegungen mehr aus dem Verlangen nach Freiheit und der Abschaffung aller beklemmenden Verhältnisse (Poirier). Besonders energisch ist das Verlangen der Abschaffung der Bevormundung durch die Missionen (Guiart, O'Reilly). Eine allgemeine Europäerfeindlichkeit kommt zum Ausdruck, ein beginnender Nationalismus versucht, politische und religiöse Selbständigkeit zu erreichen (Poirier, Guiart, O'Reilly)" [41]).

Was viele Ethnologen für das ozeanische Gebiet festellen konnten, gilt auch für Afrika, Amerika und Asien. Es sollten in diesem Sinne die besonders eindringlichen Worte Bühlers unid van der Post's [42]) über die Irrtümer der Weissen in der Erziehungsmethode der Primitiven beherzigt werden, die „Menschen mit gleichen Rechten und mit den Werten der Weissen" anzusehen sind.

Die Idee der Heilserwartung ist tief in der sowohl mythischen als auch mystischen Mentalität der Primitiven verwurzelt.

Was die mystische Mentalität der Primitiven betrifft, abgesehen von Mystik(oder Prälogik im Sinne der Theorie Lévy-Bruhls), akzeptieren wir die Ansicht, dass Magie und Animismus, und vor allem der Mythus, ein gewisses Gewicht in der Auffassung des primitiven Heilserwartungsglaubens haben; sie spielen aber nur eine sekundäre Rolle. Wir halten für richtig was P. W. Koppers bemerkt hat: „Gewiss wuchert das Unkraut der Magie irgendwie bei allen Völkern der Erde, aber es gibt hochbedeutsame Unterschiede. So haben die ethnologischen Alt- und Urstämme im allgemeinen davon weniger aufzuweisen als viele der kulturell-wirtschaftlich höher entwickelten Völker" [43]). Die wichtigste Rolle in der Auffassung des Heilserwartungsglaubens der Primi-

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41) A. Lommel, *Art. cit.*, 55.

42) Bühler, Art. cit.; L. Van der Post, *The Dark Eye in Afrika*, London 1956.

43) W. Koppers, *Der Urmensch und sein Weltbild*, Wien 1949, 230.

tiven spielt stets die Idee von einer Gottheit, die in Notfällen deren Stimme und Gebete hören kann und auch will. Und das behaupten wir im Lichte der Tatsachen, nicht als eine unbegründete Hypothese: Die Hoffnungen der primitiven Völker auf eine materielle Heilserwartung (Cargo-Kult) sind so wenig ausgeprägt und die Bestrebungen nach einer Wiederaufnahme der alten religiösen Elemente der vergangenen Kultur oder auch die Erwartung ausserordentlicher Ereignisse (Eschatologie, Chiliasmus, Messianismus) sind so stark ausgeprägt, dass es keine Heilserwartungsbewegung ohne eine tiefere religiöse Wurzel gibt.

Bei den Primitiven erweist sich auch die Vorstellung des Todes mit den damit verbundenen Hoffnungen und Geheimnissen als ein besonderer Faktor des Heilserwartungsglaubens. Es ist interessant zu sehen, wie die Idee einer erlösenden Gottheit sich oft, unter dem Einfluss der Todesvorstellung im Heilserwartungsglauben der Primitiven, durch Ahnen- und Verstorbenenkult verwandelt hat. Eine solche Auffassung hat Jensen richtig vertreten: „Diese Wandlung der Gottesidee zeigt sich deutlich in den zahlreichen Mythen von einer Wanderung ins Reich der Toten. Dort existieren die Dema-Gottheiten noch heute, und die verstorbenen Ahnen leben in inniger Gemeinschaft mit ihnen. Dort ist also auch der Ort, wo eine unmittelbare Heilserwartung befriedigt werden kann. Darum haben fast alle diese Mythen denselben Ausgangspunkt: Der Held will entweder einem bereits vorhandenen oder einem drohenden Unheil durch Hilfe aus dem Totenreich entgehen, oder er benötigt ein besonderes Heil, um eine aussergewöhnliche Tat zu vollbringen. Gleichzeitig liegt in diesen Totenreichvorstellungen auch eine Wurzel des Ahnenkultes. Die menschlichen Ahnen konnten nur Heils-Vermittler werden, weil sie in Gemeinschaft mit den Urzeit-Gottheiten leben, wodurch das Totenreich zum „Ort des Heils" wurde" [44]).

Die Propheten spielen in der Auffassung und Entstehung dieses Heilserwartungsglaubens eine wichtige Rolle. Nach Wallace gibt es zwei Grundmotive jeder prophetischen Verkündigung: „The doctrinal and behavioural injunctions which he preaches carry two fundamental motifs: that the convert will come under the care and protection or certain supernatural beings; and that both he and his society will benfit materially from an identification with some definable new cultural system" [45]).

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44) A. E Jensen, *Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern,* Wiesbaden 1951, 141.
45) A. Wallace, *Art. cit.,* 273.

Die Propheten besitzen eine grosse Autorität über ihre Anhänger, weil sie als ausserordentliches Wesen angesehen werden; aber selten ist der Fall, dass sie, wie bei den Chiriguanos [46]), vergöttlicht werden. Ihre Methode ist immer die gleiche, sie beginnen die Bewegungen mit Visionen und unterstützen ihre Autorität durch Wunder oder Heilungen. „Die Bewegungen werden durch Visionen von einem Geisterwesen ausgelöst. Da die Geister der verstorbenen Ahnen eine grosse Rolle spielen, dürfen sie in vielen Fällen mit der Lehre der Missionen in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. Der Inhalt der Visionen ist oft übereinstimmend. Die Reaktionen der Eingeborenen auf die Prophezeiung ist ziemlich einheitlich: die Prophezeiungen werden meist sofort angenommen und geglaubt, eine Panikstimmung oder Massenspsychose ist die Folge" [47]).

Auch der psychologische Faktor spielt eine grosse Rolle im Ursprung der Heilserwartungsbewegungen. Es soll hier die Bemerkung von E. Bernheim zu Wort kommen: „Die Identität der Menschennatur ist das Grundaxiom jeder historischen Kenntnis" [48]).

In der menschlichen Seele, sowohl bei den kultivierten, als auch bei den primitiven Menschen, haben sich drei Gefühlkomplexe gezeigt: Wenn die Menschheit in ihre Vergangenheit schaut, fühlt sie sich mit tiefer Traurigkeit nach dem verlorenen Paradies erfüllt. Es ist diese eine weltverbreitete Tradition, die man „nicht nur bei allen Naturvölkern, sondern auch bei den an Gesittung und Bildung am tiefsten stehenden Naturvölkern in irgendeiner, wenn auch seltsam phantastischen Form wiederfindet" [49]). Wenn die Menschheit die Gegenwart betrachtet, wird sie von einer anderen Traurigkeit erfasst: „Die mühevolle Arbeit und die tägliche Nahrung, Krankheit und Tod gehören von nun an zum Schicksal eines jeden Erdenbewohners" [50]). Denkt die Menschheit aber an die Zukunft, so hofft sie stets auf das Kommen besserer Zeiten in einem himmlischen oder irdischen Paradies. Bei den Primitiven werden diese gefühlsbedingten Vorstellung in unverfälscht-

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46) A. MÉTRAUX, „Les Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguanos et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *Rev. de l'Inst. de Etnologia,* Univ. Nacion. de Tucuman, 1931, II, 61-91.

47) G. ECKERT, „Das Prophetentum", *Art. cit.,* 59.

48) E. BERNHEIM, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie,* Leipzig 1908, p. 192.

49) G. ECKERT, *Art. cit.,* 59.

50) W. KOPPERS, „Der Urmensch", *l. cit.*

er und kindlicher Art vorgefunden. Es ist deshalb kein Wunder, dass besonders in Krisenzeiten das Hinwenden nach der Vergangenheit mit dem Verlangen, die eigene Kultur von fremden Elementen zu reinigen (Nativismus), oder einige Elemente der alten Kultur wieder aufzunehmen (Revitalismus), gross sein kann. Gegen die Ungust der Gegenwart erhoffen sie eine Hilfe durch mechanische (Cargo-Kult) oder durch geistige (Vitalismus) Mittel. Und sie schauen nach der Zukunft und erwarten bessere Zeiten entweder durch Katastrophe (Eschatologismus) oder durch ein kommendes irdisches Paradies (Chiliasmus) oder auch durch ein kommendes ausserordentliches Wesen oder Geschehen (messianische Tendenzen). So verwurzelt sich in ihren Seelen der Heilserwartungsglaube.

Es möge hier am Ende die wichtige Frage über die Entstehung der Heilserwartungsbewegungen angeschlossen werden. Kann man der von R. Lowie in seinem Artikel „Le Messianisme primitif" [51]) aufgestellten These von einem unabhängigen Ursprung dieser Kulturerscheinung zustimmen? („A mon avis — sagt der Verfasser — les cultes messianiques des peuples primitifs non seulement présentent un grand intérêt intrinsèque, mais fournissent la preuve irréfutable que de traits culturels peuvent naître indépendamment dans de grandes régions distinctes"[52]). Im Hinblick auf unsere eigenen Vergleichsergebnisse halten wir Lowie's Aufstellung nur zum Teil für richtig. Man kann sagen, dass das prophetische Phänomen, rein kontinental gesehen, unabhängig zur Entstehung gekommen ist, aber innerhalb jedes Kontinents einen nur geringen oder gar keinen Unabhängigkeitscharakter aufweist und bewahrt hat (Z.B.: Fast alle Heilserwartungsbewegungen Nordamerkas zeigen viele Beziehungen und eine enge Verwandschaft miteinander; so ist es für die Heilserwartungsbewegungen des ozeanischen Gebietes, so für jene Afrikas). Diese Unabhängigkeit ist ausserdem mehr oder weniger nur geographisch bedingt, wenn man die gemeinsame psychologische Ursache aller Heilserwartungsbewegungen berücksictigt, die ausschliesslich im Kontakt einer primitiven Kultur mit der weissen Zivilisation liegt. Die von R. Lowie angeführten Beispiele sind zu wenig beweiskräftig und an Zahl viel zu gering; auch hat er unterlassen, die unbedingt notwendige Vergleichsarbeit durchzuführen um mit ihrer Hilfe seine Theorie zu stützen und sicher zu unterbauen.

51) *Diogène*, n. 19, 1957, 1-15.
52) *Ibid.*, 3.

Wenn wir jetzt alles Obige kurz zusammenfassen wollen, ergeben sich die folgenden Thesen:

1. Der Prophetismus ist eine ethnologische Erscheinung, die sich in allen Gebieten der Erde bei den Naturvölkern deutlich verfolgen lässt.
2. Die wichtigste Form des prophetischen Phänomens in den niederen Kulturen ist der prophetische Heilserwartungsglaube, der sich in den meisten Fällen in Heilserwartungsbewegungen manifestiert.
3. Die Heilserwartungsbewegungen sind, geographisch und historisch gesehen, weltverbreitet.
4. Solche Heilserwartungsbewegungen weisen deutlich sieben Grundtendenzen auf, nämlich: *Nativismus, Revitalismus, Cargo-Kult, Vitalismus, Eschatologismus, Chiliasmus, Messianismus.*
5. Die Wirkfaktoren der Heilserwartungsbewegungen sind hauptsächlich in vier Ursachen zu suchen: 1) *Kulturkontakt* mit der weissen Zivilisation, verbunden mit konsequentem Kulturwandel und häufigem Kulturzerfall („deprivation"). Kulturvakuum, Kulturvernichtung spielen eine wichtige, aber nicht die einzige Rolle; 2) *Enttäuschung* über die „weisse" Zivilisation; 3) die *mystische* und die *mythische* Mentalität der Primitiven, die Wirkungen der Propheten (Medizinmänner, Zauberer, Schamanen), und die religiösen Einflüsse der Hochkulturen; 4) ein besonderer *psychologischer Zustand*: Traurigkeit, Melancholie, Hoffnung auf bessere Zeiten.
6. Jeder Kulturtypus kann den Nährboden für eine Heilserwartungsidee abgeben.
7. Die Entstehung der Heilserwartungsbewegungen ist nur im geographischen Sinne, aber nicht im kulturellen unabhängig anzusehen.
8. Alle Heilserwartungsbewegungen sind beginnende revolutionäre Strömungen und entstehende Nationalismen.

A. Wallace spricht zum Schlusse seines schon erwähnten Artikels von: „The choice of secular and religious means" und stellt deutlich fest, dass „no revitalisation movement can, by definition, be truly non secular, but some can be relatively less religious than others, and movements can change in emphasis depending on changing circumstances" [53]).

Um ihr heiliges und berechtigtes Ziel zu erreichen, sehen die Eingeborenen zwei Hilfen vor sich: die säkularen und die religiösen Kräf-

53) A. Wallace, *Art. cit.*, 277.

te. Auf welche wird ihre Wahl wohl fallen? Sarkysianz hat für Asien, Schlosser und Balandier für Afrika, Lommel für Ozeanien deutlich angezeigt, dass die Erwartung einer Rettung und die Hoffung auf ein kommendes irdisches Paradies die Eingeborenen verleitet, sich lieber dem materialistischen Chiliasmus des Kommunismus als den hypothetischen und den schwer erreichenden Gütern der von europäischer und amerikanischer Zivilisation vorgestellten messianischen Idee zuzuwenden.

Daraus ergibt sich, dass die Stimme des primitiven Heilserwartungsglaubens als ein dringlicher Hilferuf von allen angehört werden muss: von den Ethnologen, Soziologen, Politikern und Missionären.

ON THE CONCEPT OF *HIJIRI* (HOLY-MAN)

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(continued)

III. EMERGENCE OF THE HIJIRI-GROUP AND ITS CHARACTER

Emergence of the Hijiri-Group

The original meanings of *Hijiri* have been clarified to some extent by the descriptions in the opening section. *Hijiri* as a specifically religious concept came into existence in the middle of the Heian Period, succeeding the formed *ubasoku(upâsaka)zenji* group of the Nara Period[65]), as represented by Gyôgi-*bosatsu*[66]) and En-no-*ubasoku*[67]). It was gradually formed on the basis of feelings which were common to both the special religious ascetics who had firm faith and strict practices, including the observance of the Buddhist discipline of forbearance and mercifulness, and the religious hermits who had endeavored to achieve a higher form of religious experience and consciousness in the isolated and secluded mountains or hermitages.

Buddhism in the Nara Period made a sharp discrimination between state Buddhism and private or popular Buddhism, because it had developed under the patronage and control of the state. The attitude of the government toward private beliefs and practices was negative

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65) In the Nara Period, the so-called *ubasoku-zenji* (*upâsaka*-ascetic) was an unauthorized and private Buddhist ascetic or practioner who did not receive the Buddhist initiation ceremony or undergo the state examination for license.

66) *Shoku Nihongi,* chap. XVII; *Gyôgi Nenpu* (Biography of Gyôgi); HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* See Note 18.

67) En-no-Shôkaku was a famous magician who lived in the middle of the seventh century. His family was beieved to have had a priestly function serving the god of Mount Katsuragi in Nara Prefecture. It is said that the *Shugen-dô* Sect was founded by him, but this is not yet an established historical fact. However, there is some reliable evidence to show that many shamans and magicians practiced and trained in the mountains, accepting the new-styled form of Buddhist Mantrayâna in that period.

and rather suppressive. Many Buddhist priests had tried to become official priests by taking the state examination for licensure, or to be priests of up-to-date information after studying abroad. The *Biku* (*Bhiksu*), an officially authorized Buddhist priest, was treated on the same footing with the government officers. Many state-temples donated by the government or by the Imperial Family had their own lands and people as their economic foundation, organized and controlled separately. There was a bureau for religious affairs in the government, the headquarters of which was called *Sô-gô* [68]). The headquarters for the state-temples and the big clan-temples were also called *San-gô* [69]).

The official Buddhist priests belonged to the religious and social status of their own temple. Their status could be promoted by length of service from their initiation ceremony as well as by their study and practical merits. Among the official Buddhist priests, the so-called *Gaku-sô* (literally, scholarly monk), there were many lower-class private priests who engaged in the practical affairs of managing the temples, Buddha halls and serving the high-class official priests. One class, called the *Dai-shu* or *Shû-to* (literally, masses), sprang up in rivalry with the *Gaku-sô* group. Afterwards, this *Dai-shu* or *Shû-to* group seized power in their temples and formed a great political and economic bloc against other politically powerful families.

Many state and clan temples were built for the sole benefit and purpose of their own aims and functions, and gained and held political and economic independenc, so that their religious functions were never opened to the masses or the public. The character of the priests in the state or clan temples, as well as those of the *Gaku-sô* and *Dai-shu* groups, equally became more and more political and secularistic than religious. Moreover, the nobles of the Heian Period were strongly superstitious; they feared the revenge of the spirit of the dead enemy; they believed in the necromancy and telepathy performed by female shamans; they believed in divinations based on astrology and the calendar according to the professors of the Yin-yang philosophy

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68) The *Sô-gô* consists of a *Sô-jô* (bishop or archbishop), a *Sô-zu* (sub-bishop) and a *Ri(tsu)-shi* (head controller of disciplinary affairs). Aterwards, these titles became only honorary ones given by the government to scholarly and outstanding Buddhist priests.

69) The *San-gô* consists of three classes. The head of *San-gô* was called *Ji-shu* (head of the temple).

(*Onmyô-Hakase*) [70]). Consequently, the religious functions of the *Gaku-sô* were mostly limited to scholarly discussions about their own theology in the official rituals, the performances of the mysterious rites and services which induced the nobles and noblesses' minds to the mysterious world of phantoms, magic such as praying for rain, for confusion of the enemy, for someone's recovery from illness, for an easy childbirth, and so on [71]). They were honored by awards, donations and promotions of their ecclesiastical grade and status, which were extended to them by the emperors, nobles or supporters in each of these cases.

Generally speaking, the world of institutionalized Buddhism was a kind of wordly society which nominally opened its doors to the common people. Nevertheless, with the lapse of time, many princes, princesses and children of noble families went into the religious world and occupied the higher and important ranks and positions in the temples. As a result of this, the state and the large temples inevitably became more and more aristocratic, formalistic and secularistic. Consequently, if a person awakening to a real religious need wanted to try to maintain the life of seeking after Buddhist truth and enlightenment as well as to distribute the Buddha's gospel to the common people, he had to deny the organization and form of the official Buddhist order or escape and seclude himself from it anew. In other words, one had to retire again from a religious world which was originally considered unworldly. In this context the groups of *Hijiri* appeared.

Anti-Secularism and Upâsaka-ism of the Early Hijiri-Groups

The character of the *Hijiri* was originally private and arbitrary, and always negative to the actual world, especially to authority or social status. However, because the religious needs of the common people did not necessarily end within the limits of the present world, *Hijiri*, with an anti-secularistic character and super-mundane behavior and attitude, gained high esteem among people who were unsatisfied with official Buddhism. The personalities and conducts of an early small group of *Hijiri* infused a fresh spirit into the religious world. The character of the *Hijiri* was clearly formed by them. Though their

70) See HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 76-8.
71) HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* pp. 84-88.

behavior seemed to be eccentric and unusual at first sight, they never departed in the least from their unshakable faith, strict practices and humanity.

Genpin-*hijiri,* who died in 818, had been appointed to the ecclesiastical rank of *Sô-zu,* one of the highest official ranks of the governmental *Sô-gô,* because of his highly-esteemed scholarship. He declined this appointment with thanks, but the Emperor did not recognize this, so he escaped from Kyoto to a small hut at the foot of Mount Miwa in Nara Prefecture. Afterwards, seeking Buddhist truth and distributing the Buddha's gospel, he traveled through several provinces and at last hid himself from the world to become a ferryman in a small village. The legends about his personality and deeds as well as his poems were later in great demand among the people, and several priests revered him for his virtue [72]).

Kûya-hijiri, a pioneer of the *Nembutsu-Hijiri* or *Amida-Hijiri,* had been a *upâsaka* and belonged to the Tendai sect. According to the biographies written by his friends, Yasutané Yoshishigé (Jakushin) and Tamenori Minamoto [73]), he also hid himself among the citizens of Kyoto City, recommending and strongly urging them to the practice of *Nembutsu.* It is said he was a son of the emperor, but he never confessed his identity. One day he descended from Mount Hiei, the location of one of the headquarters of the Tendai school; he had studied there and found it very annoying and noisy in the mountain, while in the city of Kyoto it was very quiet and peaceful—or conducive to his work. He was called and *Ichi-Hijiri* by the citizens, which means a *Hijiri* in the city. He continued to pray unceasingly to the Amitabha Buddha (*Nembutsu*; *Namu Amidabutsu*); thus he was also called an *Amida-Hijiri.* One of Kûya's biographers wrote that before Kûya appeared, there were few who had practiced the *Nembutsu-samâdhi* in any of the temples or communities; furthermore, the common people had eschewed it. However, once Kûya appeared, praying to *Nembutsu* himself and strongly urging the people to pray to him, the whole nation was soon worshipping the Amitabha Buddha. This was the real merit of the

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72) *Fukuro-Sôshi,* chap. IV; *Gô-dan Shô,* chap. I; *Ho-sshin-shû,* chap. I; *Koji-dan,* chap. III; *Ko-kon Cho-mon-shû,* chap. V, etc.

73) *Kûya Rui* written by Tamenori Minamoto immediately after Kûya's death. "Shamon Kûya" in the *Nihon Oh-jô-goku-raku-ki* written by Jakushin who died in 997.

reverent *Hijiri* Kûya. He also traveled through several provinces to distribute the Amitabha's merciful gospel as well as to serve social welfare works. He entered prisons to enlighten the immates [74]).

In 984, twelve years after Kûya's death, Genshin (Eshin-*Sô-zu*) was devoting himself to writing his famous work entitled "Ohjô-Yôshû" (A Selection of Sacred Words Concerning Going to the Amitabha's Western Pure Land). Following the *Nembutsu* practices founded by Ennin (Jikaku Daishi) in the Tendai School, he lived in seclusion at Yogawa on the inner Mount Hiei, for he despised honor and reputation in this world; there he made up his mind to practice the life of *Hijiri.* His work, his personality and his scholarship exerted as far-reaching an influence on the nobles as Kûya had on the common people. He started the *Gei-kô* service in which was performed a play of the coming down of the Amitabha Buddha to welcome the spirits of his believers, accompanied by many Buddhist saints and angels in the Pure Land Hall (*Gokuraku-dô* or *Amida-dô*) which imitated the Amitabha's Paradise. He also founded a religious association named *Nijugo-Zammai Kesshu,* the aim of which was that the members of this association could be reborn without fail in the Amitabha's Pure Land after death as a result of the concentrated merit of *Nembutsu* by like-minded persons [75]). These efforts made by Genshin, co-jointly with Kuya's endeavors and Jakushin's movement to promote the virtues of Nembutsu among common people as well as among the scholars and intelligentsia, had a deep influence on the Japanese people. As a result, there was an increase in the number of *Hijiri* who practiced *Nembutsu* in the mountains centering around Mount Hiei as well as the lay-*Hijiri (Zoku-Hijiri)* in the cities and rural communities. In the later Heian Period, there appeared in Kyoto and its suburbs many *Nembutsu-Hijiri* or *Amida-Hijiri* who imitated Kuya's deeds [76]).

Yasutané Yoshishigé, who called himself Jakushin after he took holy orers in Buddhism, lived at the same time as Kuya and Genshin. He was also known as *Naiki-no-Hijiri* because he had formerly been a court official in the department of *Nai-ki* (Secretariat). After his conversion he began the *Kan-gaku-ye* Meeting, the aim of which was for

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74) *Nihon Oh-jô-goku-raku-ki.*

75) *Zoku Honchô Oh-jô-den*; *Ni-jû-go Zammai Kishô* written by Genshin in 986 and in 988.

76) *Kon-jaku-monogatari,* chap. XVII-2; XXIX-9, etc.

the students and professors of the state university in Kyoto and the awakened scholarly Tendai priests to assemlbe once a month to discuss the theories of the Lotus Sutra in the daytime, to pray to *Nembutsu* in the evening, and to express their religious feelings and awareness in Chinese and Japanese poetry. He wrote a book entitled "Nihon Ohjô Gokuraku Ki" (The Compiled Biographies about the Persons Who Went to the Amitabha's Pure Land After Death) during 985-986. He recorded his intention in the preface of this book as follows:

> I had already prayed to Amitabha Buddha in my youth; however, after I was forty years old, my belief in the *Nembutsu* became more and more ardent. So that I chant the name of Amitabha Buddha in my mouth, and meditate on the Amitabha Buddha and his Pure Land's figures in my mind. These practices I have never forgotten in every moment of my daily life, not even for a moment. Any temples and halls in which the statues of Amitabha are enshrined, or where the *mandâla* of the Pure Land are, I have worshipped at them without exception. Any laymen or priests, men and women, who have the intention to be reborn in the Amitabha's Pure Land after death. I have formed a pious connection with all of them without exception.

Jakushin's legendary biography and actions are full of eccentricities. For example, he wandered about the country strongly urging the people to embrace *Nembutsu* as well as to observe the Buddhist masses. He always tendered the animals, even the fat horses and bulls. If he found temples or Buddha's halls or pagodas and stupas on his route, he never failed to get off his horse and worship at them piously. One day, the biography says, he was invited to visit the home of one of his disciples but he did not come until sunset. The host, wondering why he did not arrive at his house which was close to a hermitage, went to search for him. The disciple found him in a grave yard along the road, where he had gotten off his horse and was worshipping at each tomb, shedding tears and offering *Nembutsu* to ecah spirit of the dead. When he went to Mount Tô-no-miné Temple to ask for the instruction of Zôga-*Hijiri* who resided there, Jakushin heard every sacred word and wept with great thanks. Zôga encouraged his firm and pious faith with praise [77]).

77) *Zoku Honchô Oh-jô-den*; *Kon-jaku-monogatari,* chap. XIX; *Ho-sshin-shû,* chap. II; *Shi-ju Hyaku-innen-shû,* chap. VIII, etc.

The legend of Kyôshin-*hijiri* (or -*shami*) also had a far-reaching influence on the *Nembutsu-hijiri* in later ages, such as had Jakushin, Tameyasu Miyoshi and Eikan (or Yôkan) in the Heian Period, Shinran and Chishin in the Kamakura Period, founders of the Jodo-shin and Ji sects in the Japanese Pure Land School. Kyôshin-*shami* supported his wife and son by his day-labor in a small farming village in Hyôgo Prefecture. He was converted to the *Nembutsu*-belief and repeated the name of Amitabha Buddha every day and night incessantly. Villagers nicknamed him *Amidamaru.* He died in a small hut repeating the "*Namu Amida-butsu*". After he died his corpse was given to the dogs as he had willed. It was said that Shinran usually talked about the personality and behavior of Kyôshin as his model. Chishin visited Kyôshin's remains several times and wanted to die there. Afterwards, the *Noguchi Dai-Nembutsu* Festival was dedicated to the memory of Kyôshin by Tan-*Amidabutsu,* one of Chishin's disciples, and it is practiced even today [78]).

Zôga-*hijiri* was a famous scholar of the Tendai school. However, he hated the secularism of the Tendai monasteries and escaped from Mount Hiei under pretense of madness, and at last lived in seclusion in Mount Tô-no-miné. He never went down the mountain to Kyoto even when the Emperor invited him. One day, a concubine invited him in order that she might receive the Buddhist initiation from him. He declined several times with thanks. The concubine, however, never gave him up, because she had great respect for him. At last he made an exception and reluctantly consented, going to her palace in Kyoto. Nevertheless, he did not give her the commandments of Buddhism, but was eccentric in his conduct and indulged in striking remarks in order to be given up by her, and hurried home. Having completely abandoned all tenacity for this world, he died sitting in Buddhist contemplation and praying the Lotus Sûtra [79]). There were many priests and laymen who adored him for his personality and behavior, and con-

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78) *Nihon Oh-jô-goku-raku-ki*; *Oh-jô Jû-in* written by Eikan; *Go-shû-i Oh-jô-den* written by Tameyasu Miyoshi; *Miné-ai-ki*; *Genkô-Shaku-shô,* chap. IX; *Ippen-Hijiri-E,* chap. IX and XI; *Kai-ja-shô.*

79) *Hokké Gen-gi,* chap. III; *Zoku Oh-jô-den*; *Kon-jaku-monogatari,* chap. XII-33; *Uji-shû-i-monogatari,* chap. XII; *Shi-ju Hyaku-innen-shû,* chap. VIII; *Wa-shû Tô-no-miné-dera Zôgo-shônin Gyôjô-ki*; *Tô-no-miné Ryaku-ki,* chap. I, II, etc.

tracted warm frinedships with him. Among them were Shöku-*hijiri* as well as Genshin and Jakushin-*hijiri.*

According to the biographies and legends concerning Shôkû [80], he acquired faith in Buddhism from his early days. However, it was not until he was 36 years of age that he joined the Buddhist priesthood. Then he stayed at Mount Kirishima and Mount Seburi in Kyushu, where he assiduously practiced the austerities of the Lotus Sûtra, received a mysterious power, and attained enlightenment. He finally came to Mount Shosha in Hyôgo Prefecture and built a Buddhist temple on the top of the mountain. His personality and deeds were extremely unusual and there were many anecdotes about him. He composed one poem entitled "Kan-tei-Go" (Words About the Secluded Retreat) as follows:

I, a hermit at a secluded retreat am
Poor and also humble;
Who is not ambitious after wealth and distinction;
But love my own life;
Though the four walls are crudeness,
The Eight Winds cannot trespass on them;
Though one gourd for wine is empty,
The *Samâdhi* is full to the brim spontaneously;
I do not know anyone,
(So that) there is neither slander nor praise;
No one knows me,
(So that) there is neither hatred nor affection;
When I lie down with my head resting on my arm,
(The) delight and happiness exist in it;
For what purpose should I wish again for
The unstable lap of luxury like a floating cloud!

Another anecdote says that one day Lady Izumi, a famous poetess and beauty of that time, came down to Mount Shosha from Kyoto in order to ask for instruction of Shôkû-*hijiri.* He, seeing her ascending Mount Shosha in the distance, said that there was a female ogre

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80) *Shôku-shônin-den,* written in 1010; "Shosha-zan Shônin-den" in *Chôya Gunsai* which was said to have been written by the Retired Emperor Kazan; *Honchô Hokké Gen-gi,* chap. II-45; *Shosha-zan Engi*; *Kon-jaku-monogatari,* chap. XII-24; *Ko-kon cho-mon-shû,* chap. XI, etc.

coming, and hid himself in the other hermitage. She wrote a Japanese poem (*waka*) and offered it to him. This poem is one of the most famous in her anthology:

I who might pass from the darkness to darkness
To the Moon which is now coming out from behind the mountain,
Oh! my Moon, please throw your light on me from afar![81])

Many priests and laymen adored him for his virtues and visited him in order to receive his evangelization and salvation. Among them were the Retired Emperor Kazan in Pious Life, Michinaga Fujiwara, Genshin, Jakushin, Zôga and so on. And not a few people followed in his footsteps in later ages.

These early *Hijiri* had the significant characteristics of *anti-secularism* and *quietism* based on their own religious minds; in addition, they threw a fresh light on and gave instruction to the common spiritual life because of their unique personalities. Hence, there necessarily appeared many followers in their wake among the masses or laymen. Kûya, Shôkû and Jakushin, as well as their forerunners such as Prince Shôtoku, Gyôgi and En-no-Shôkaku, were all laymen or Buddhist *upâsaka* (*ubasoku*) or *śramanera* (*shami*) until their middle age or later. Therefore, they took no account of the system of apprenticeship, which was based on the age of receiving the commandments of Buddhism in order to become a *Bhiksu* (*Biku*) or of the order sytem of priesthood. Their situation of "*upâsaka-ism*" gave full scope to their real intention in the religious life. The religious functions and the spirit of seeking after religious truth which had gradually been lost in the Buddhist monasteries and the large temples under the patronage of the Imperial Family or powerful nobles were nurtured and promoted by the group of *Hijiri* and distributed by them to the common people.

There are other examples of *Hijiri.* Sanshû-*hijiri,* who resided in Mount Ibuki in Gifu Prefecture, lacked learning of Buddhist theories, knew nothing beyond the practice of *Nembutsu* and went to Amitabha's Pure Land after death[82]). Ruri-*hijiri* of Tennô-ji Temple, who had also despised the monastery life, hid himself as a citizen of Osaka and became a mendicant priest as a *Nembutsu-hijiri,* withholding from

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81) *Izumi-shikibu-shû* Anthology, chap. I.
82) *Kon-jaku-monogatari,* chap. XX, -12.

the people his knowledge of Buddhist theology [83]). Hyôtô-*hijiri,* who had been a famous scholar in the Tendai School at Mount Hiei, was suddenly re-converted, wandered about the country from door to door as a mendicant. He never slept in a house at night, but practised the incessant chant of *Nembutsu,* and had a rebirth in Amitabha's Pure Land after death [84]). The significant characteristic seen in all of these is that their attitudes and functions were the very opposite of that of priests in the official monasteries and large temples [85]).

IV. DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIJIRI-GROUPS

We have seen how the belief in "*goryô*", or spirits of the dead, played such an important role in the Japanese religious history, especially during the Heian Period. This belief was originally directed only to the souls and spirits of the nobility, aristocracy and the politically-powerful families. It gradually became generalized, however, so that even the peasants could hope for the salvation of their spirits through the belief in *goryô.* Indeed, the *Age of Goryô-shin* found expression on every social and economic level and also within all the existing religious structures—Buddhism, Shinto, Yin-yang magic, Shamanism, and, as we shall note below, in the different kinds of *Hijiri* groups which were forming to meet the popular religious needs. The inter-relationships between the belief in *goryô* and the *Hijiri* is the subject of this chapter. Two types of *Hijiri* are discussed: the *kenza,* or "*Hijiri* in the mountains", known earlier as the *upâsaka* magicians; and the *Nembutsu-Hijiri,* who were closely related to the Pure Land School of Mahayâna Buddhism.

The Rise of the "Kenza-Group" Connected with the Belief in "Goryô-shin"

As the belief in *goryô-shin* became more and more popularized, the shamans, Yin-yang priests and Buddhist performers and exorcists con-

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83) *Ho-sshin-shû.*

84) *Ko-ji-dan,* chap. III.

85) According to the *Hokké Gen-gi, Zoku Oh-jô-den, Shû-i Oh-jô-den, Go-shû-i Oh-jô-den, San-gé Oh-jô-den, Shin-shu Oh-jo-den* and others, there were *Roku-man-bu-Hijiri,* Kô-*Hijiri,* Mandô-*Hijiri,* I-sshuku-*Hijiri,* Hadaka-*Hijiri,* Odawara-*Hijiri,* Iwakura-*Hijiri,* Mimasaka-*Hijiri,* Kita-Tsukushi-*Hijiri,* Iga-*Hijiri* and Tanahara-*Hijiri,* etc.

nected with this belief mutually gave an impetus to one another in an endless chain. Among them, the Mantra-istic priests usually practiced an aggressive magic against the *goryô*, with the active intention of subsuming the Shinto deities into Buddhist hierarchy and theology. Because the deified human soul and the spirit of the dead were believed to be saved and sent off to the Buddha's Paradise by Buddhist rituals and magic, it is not to be wondered at that the Shinto deities were believed to be the local and temporary manifestations of the prime noumena of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and could attain enlightenment or be saved by Buddhist practices and prayers.

The Mantra-istic priests of both Tendai and Shingon schools seemed to have the effect of a new impetus for the shamans and Yin-yang priests as they worked together with each other. As the Mantra-istic priests won the public confidence, the demand for the *kenza*-group or the so-called "*Hijiri* in the mountains" was suddenly advanced, because magical and superhuman power was generally believed to be attained by superhuman austerities as well as an unshakable faith and strict discipline.

These trends necessarily promoted also the sudden increase of the "*upâsaka*-magicians in the mountains". In about 1000 A.D., a famous female essayist Lady Sei-shônagon satirized the *kenza* in an essay entitled "Unusual Things" as follows:

> The '*kenza*' seems to make great efforts. As he has to climb from mountain to mountain such as from Mount Mitaké to Mount Kumano etc., in order to practice his austerities, he must have had many fearful experiences. At last, if word should go out that he had a miraculous character and superhuman power by virtue of his trainings, he would be very busy every day and night with his many supporters' invitations to travel here and there. So that he cannot seek a place for peaceful living, neither in his novitiate days nor in his most prosperous days [86]).

Consequently, the famous mountain-temples which had been originally discovered, selected and set apart by the early *Hijiri*-groups in order to practice religious austerities became the central seminaries for these disciplines, and were treated with great respect and confidence. As early

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86) *Makura-no-Sôshi*, 4th section.

as 836, the seven temple-mountains (Mount Hiei, Mount Hira in Shiga Prefecture, Mount Ibuki in Gifu Prefecture, Mount Atago in Kyoto Prefecture, Jinpô-ji Temple in Osaka Prefecture, Mount Kinpu-sen and Mount Katsuragi in Nara Prefecture) were especially styled the "Seven Highly-Powered Mountains" (*Shichi Kô-zan*) by imperial command and were given yearly official donations to pray for bumper crops. The performers of this ritual in the mountains were called "*Acârya* of the Seven Highly-Powerful Mountains" (*Shichi Kô-zan Ajari)* [87]). Again in 848, when the government announced an examination for excellent *upâsaka*-magicians in private life, there were several hundred who gathered from various places to apply for it, carrying on their backs a special kind of creel (*oi)* and in their hands a special priest's staff (*shakujô*). Of these, seventy *upâsaka* passed the examination and were approved as official Buddhist priests (*Bhiksu* or *Biku)* [88]). Moreover, in 857, the government asked for a report of the names of temples and priests in the deep northwestern mountain recesses of Kyoto and donated to them sums of rice and salt [89]). In 866 the Emperor sent for a priest who had a reputation for his miraculous virtue and power by the merits of the practices of austerities in the remote mountain recesses in Mount Yoshino and gave him audience and a huge donation [90]).

There were two types of "*upâsaka*-magicians in the mountains", those who lived permanently in certain mountains practicing their austerities, and those who made pilgrimages to several famous Buddhist mountains and mountain-temples. As the custom of making pilgrimages from mountain to mountain was believed to be effective toward attaining superhuman power, this came into existence as one of the most important and widespread practices of Buddhist asceticism.

As I have already pointed out, the mountain-seminaries on Mount Wu-tai-shan in northern China were introduced and copied by Saichô and Kûkai and their successors, especially Ennin and Enchin. Ennin named his diary, "Nittô Guhô Junrei-kô Ki" (The Record of Pilgri-

87) Shaku-ké Kan-pan-ki, chap. I.

88) *Shoku-Nihon Kô-ki,* chap. XVIII. This is the fourth official historical record compiled by the government, 824-850.

89) *Montoku-Jitsu-roku,* chap. IX. The fifth official historical record during the reign of Emperor Montoku from 851 to 859.

90) *San-dai Jitsu-roku,* chap. XV. The sixth official record during the reigns of Emperors Seiwa, Yôzei and Kôkô from 859 to 887.

mages for Seeking the Buddha's Law in Tang China). This is the first appearance of the word *"junrei"* (pilgrimage) in Japanese religious history. At the same time that Saichô and Kûkai built their temples modeled after the seminary system in Mount Wu-tai-shan, the five summits in the western mountains of Kyoto City were compared with the five summits in Mount Wu-tai-shan and worshipped as holy mountains.

Sôwô (831-918), one of the disciples of Ennin, who was an excellent *kenza* in high esteem, practiced and lived permanently in Mount Hiei. However, he wanted to combine the two types of training and so began the new practice of making a round of pilgrimages to the several summits as well as to all the halls and pagodas of the Buddha in Mount Hiei every day for one thousand days. (*Kai-hô Gyô*) [91].

The importance of these pilgrimages was advanced decisively by the practices of the two retired Emperors Seiwa and Uda. In 879 Emperor Seiwa, who had retired and entered into the Buddhist priesthood under the guidance of Shuei (809-884), made pilgrimages to eleven famous mountain-temples where he chanted the sûtras and worshipped at statues of the Buddha, staying at each place for several days to practice the disciplines. Finally he stopped at Mount Mizunoo which he decided should be the place of his death. There he entered upon some extremely ascetic practices. He rigidly abstained from many kinds of food and ate maigre only once in two or three days. Having thus given up all desires of this world, he died while sitting in Buddhist contemplation in the next year after nineteen months of practice. It was said that because his corpse never inclined, but sustained an upright posture as if alive, and could not be laid in a coffin, they took it on a formal Imperial palanquin and cremated it according to Buddhist custom. He died at the age of 30 [92].

The retired Emperor Uda of the Pious Life also had practiced the austerities with pilgrimages into the mountains. After finishing his training and practices under the guidance of the famous Shingon priests Yakushin (827-906) and Kanken (853-925), he followed the orthodox religious tradition of the Shingon school. This was the first time that a retired emperor officially had received the mantle of a

91) He was a founder of the *Gyô-mon-ha* Branch in the Tendai School. *Mudô-ji Kon-ryû Oshô-den.*

92) *San-dai Jitsu-roku,* chap. XXXVIII.

Buddhist school and was ranked into its religious lineage. He made pilgrimages to several sacred mountains such as Mount Hiei, Mount Yoshino, Mount Kinpu, Mount Kôya and Mount Kumano between 898 and 907 [93]). He and his entourage wore white robes modeled after the *upâsaka* on their mountain pilgrimages. According to the poem composed by one of his suite, Sosei, these pilgrimages were called *yama-bushi* or *yama-bumi* (to step on the mountains) [94]).

If even the retired emperors emphasized and practiced pilgrimages to the sacred mountains and mountain-temples, it was understandable that many priests and *upâsaka* as well as laymen should suddenly attach importance to the *yama-bushi* or *yama-bumi* practices.

This *yama-bushi* practice of Uda was succeeded and promoted by his disciple Jyôzô (891-964), who was a son of the famous Confucianist scholar Kiyotsura Miyoshi and highly esteemed for his miraculous virtue and magic. He was called "the greatest *kenza* that ever lived". According to his biography [95]), he entered into the Shingon Buddhist priesthood at the age of seven, then practiced Shingon asceticism in Mount Inari, Mount Kumano, Mount Hiei, Mount Ohminé, Mount Nachi, Mount Haku-san and Mount Kinpu. After he had become a *Bhiksu* and enjoyed his reputation as the greatest *kenza,* he fell in love with the daughter of one of the nobles and they were married [96]). His reputation was not impaired, however. Even though this may be an exception, we realize from it that the *kenza* did not necessarily gain the respect of the public by a rigid observance of the Buddhist commandments, but by his superhuman virtue and power at that time. One might say that this was an example of the possibility and justification for regularizing the *upâsaka*-istic form into Mantrayâna Buddhism, opening the way for the founding of the *Shugen-dô* sects.

Shôbô (Rigen Daishi, 832-909), another Shingon priest of the same time, was believed to be a restorer of the *Shugen-dô* sect, though this

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93) *Fusô Ryaku-ki,* chap. XXII and XXIII; *Nihon Ki-ryaku,* the latter part, chap. I; *Oh-kagami,* chap. I; *Ninna-ji Gyô-den*; *Genkô-Shaku-sho,* chap. XVII and XXIV, etc.

94) *Sosei-hôshi-shû* Anthology; *Go-sen waka-shû* Anthology, chap. XV; other examples of the word *Yama-bushi* or *Yama-bumi* are in *Genji-monogatari,* chap. "Te-narai"; *Hama-matsu-chûnagon-monogatari; Utsubo-monogatari,* etc.

95) *Dai-hôshi Jyôzô-den.*

96) *Yamato-monogatari,* chap. I; *Nihon Kô-sô-den Yô-bun-shô,* chap. I; *Shû-i Oh-jô-den,* chap. II.

legend is doubtful as historical fact. He also practiced his austerities on Mount Kinpu and Mount Ohminé [97]).

Thus, as the practices of austerities in the mountains as well as the pilgrimages to the sacred mountains and mountain-temples were flourishing, the custom of the so-called *Mitaké-moudé* (pilgrimages to Mount Mitaké or Kinpu) among the laymen and nobles as well as the masses began to be very popular. These pilgrimages were made in order to receive divine favors and attain spiritual enlightenment and peace by the merit of one's own practice. This tendency necessarily gave rise on the one hand to the prosperity of the famous sacred mountains, and to the appearance of professional guide-priests named *Sen-datsu,* who guided the laymen to their own mountains from Kyoto while teaching them the rules of religious purification and abstinence before and along the way of the pilgrimage; while in the mountains many permanently-residing leader-priests called *O-shi* taught, prayed for, and guided the temporay lay-ascetics in the mountains. They built their own seminary and lodge around the main temple in order to shelter their supporters.

At the end of the Heian Period, Mount Kumano was at the peak of its prosperity. This was mainly due to the two retired emperors: Shirakawa, who made pilgrimages to this mountain nine times in his life; and Go-Shirakawa, who made thirty-four of them. At that time a proverb of the "Pilgrimages of Ants to Mount Kumano" came into fashion, symbolizing the prosperity of this mountain. After this, Mount Kumano came under the control of the Tendai and Shingon schools as a result of the merits of *Sen-datsu,* who served the emperors' pilgrimages as leaders and guides. And the so-called *Shugen-dô* sects were gradually established around Mount Kumano under the theological leadership and management of both the Tendai and Shingon schools.

The Rise of the "Nembutsu-Hijiri Group" Connected With the Belief in "Goryô-shin"

The belief in *goryô-shin* seemed to effect a sudden rise in *Nembutsu* practices and *Nembutsu* prayers at the same time as that of the *Kenza* or *Shugen-sha* in the mountains. As already pointed out in a former

97) *Shôbô-sôjô-den*; *Daigo-ji Engi*; *Genkô-Shaku-sho,* chap. IV; *Kinpu-sen Himitsu-den,* chap. II.

section, one of the most significant rituals of early Buddhism in Japan was a memorial service to the spirit of the dead closely connected with the way of salvation in after-life. At the beginning of the Heian Period, the Lotus Sûtra was considered to be one of the most powerful sûtras for the salvation of the spirit of the dead. The *Hokké-Hachi-kô* [98]), *Hokké-Sen-pô* [99]), and *Hokké-Senbu-yé* [100]) rites and ceremonies were held mainly for this purpose.

On the other hand, the Amitabha's Sûtras [101]) were already introduced into Japan from China by several Buddhist priests in the early Nara Period, and lectures about them were given in the Imperial Court (652 A.D.). According to historical documents, there were several priests who believed in Amitabha Buddha and practiced *Nembutsu*-prayer for the purpose of their rebirth in the *Sukhâvatî* (the Western Pure Land) of Amitabha Buddha.

The first school to accept this belief in Japan was the Tendai School. At first, Saichô introduced practices of four kinds of *samâdhi* (*sammai*: meditations) based on the teachings of "Mo-hö-ki-kwân" (*Maka-Shi-kan*) written by Chih-kai, founder of the Tien-tai School in China. One of these four *samâdhi* was called *Jyôgyô-jyôza-sammai* [102]). It was based upon the "Pratyutpanna-buddhasammukhâvasthita-samâdhi" [103]), which teaches meditation by means of repeated

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98) Lectures and rituals on the Lotus Sûtra which continued for eight days and nights. The original scroll of the Lotus Sûtra consisted of eight volumes and a ritual was held on each volume every day. The most important was the fifth day, based on the fifth volume which was called *Go-kan-no-hi* or *Itsu-maki-no-hi* (Day for the fifth volume of the Lotus Sûtra) and a special service took place.

99) Rite for chanting the Lotus Sûtra in order to pray for the peace of this world and salvation in after-life as well as to pray for the spirit of the dead as a memorial service, by repenting and purifying the sins or impurities.

100) Rites for chanting the Lotus Sûtra one thousand times in one week. Today it is held during the spring equinoctial week at the Buddhist temples of the Tendai School.

101) There are three sûtras concerning the Amitabha Buddha: the first is *Sukhâvatyam-ritavyûha-sûtra* (*Fo-shwo-ö-mi-tho-kiṅ*) translated into Chinese by Kumârajîva in 402 A.D.; the second is the *Buddhabhâshitâmitâyurbuddha-dhyâna(?)-sûtra* (*Fo-shwo-kwân-wu-liân-sheu-fo-kiṅ* in Chinese which was translated into Chinese by Kâlayasas in 424 A.D.; and the third is the so-called *"Larger Sukhâvati-vyûha-sûtra"* or *"Buddhabhâshita-mahâyânâmitâyur-vyûha-sûtra"*. The original of this book was lost in 730 A.D. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 200, 198, and 863.

102) *Jyô-gyô* literally means the practice which is done while incessantly moving around and *Jyô-za* means the same practice done while sitting immobile.

103) This should be translated "Sûtra on the samâdhi called pratyutpanna

chantings of the name of Amitabha Buddha (*Namu-Amida-butsu*) and of attentive and ceaseless contemplation for ninety days of the Amitabha's figure and his Pure Land. This method of meditation had been introduced into the Tien-tai School by Chih-kai from the Chinese Pure Land School founded by Hui-yüan (334-416 A.D.) in Mount Lu-shan.

Afterwards, Ennin brought back this *samâdhi* named *Jyôgyô-jyôza-sammai* from Mount Wu-tai-shan seminary in China and built his own professional seminary in Mount Hiei. This *samâdhi* was also called the *In-zei Nembutsu* because of the repetition of *Nembutsu* in a sing-song tone; or the *Fudan Nembutsu* because of the incessant chanting of *Nembutsu*; or *Yama-no-Nembutsu* (*Nembutsu* in the Mountain) because this *Nembutsu* had originated at one of the seminaries of Enryaku-ji Temple in Mount Hiei. It was said that in 865 this *Nembutsu* practice became one of the annual rites of the Tendai School and was observed unceasingly from the dawn of the eleventh to the midnight of the seventeenth of August of the lunar calendar centering arond the harvest moon.

The *Jyôgyô-dô* Seminary for the *Jyôgyô-jyôza-sammai* pratices and its *Nembutsu* practices gradually influenced the temples and priests of the Tendai School. In the middle of the Heian Period, the most popular daily practices of the Tendai temples and priests were the *sâmadhi* based on the Lotus Sûtra (*Hokké-sammai*) in the morning and the *Nembutsu-sammai* in the evening; chanting the name of the Lotus Sutra in the morning (*Asa Daimoku*) and repeating the name of Amitabha Buddha in the evening (*Yû Nembutsu*).

Though originally this *Nembutsu-samâdhi* had aimed at the salvation in the future life of the priests and believers for their object, it gradually enlarged its function to become a memorial service for the spirit of the dead, with the expectation that the Amitabha's helping hands would be extended to them. Thus, the professional *Nembutsu*-priests and *Nembutsu*-prayers have been connected with the funeral ceremony as well as with the memorial services for the dead.

When the funeral services for the late Emperor Daigo were held in 930, the professional *Nembutsu*-priests, selected from among the Tendai priests, lined both sides of the street at eighty-six places where

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(etc.)". *Pân-keu-sân-mêi-kiṅ* in Chinese. Nanjo Catalogue: No. 73, translated into Chinese by K'leu-kiâ-khân of the Eastern Hân Dynasty.

the funeral procession passed, repeating *Nembutsu* prayers to the deceased Emperor's spirit and ringing their special bells and gongs [104]) Following this, we find many such examples in several historical documents and diaries of that time [105]).

According to these documents, when the sick person lay at death's door, *Nembutsu*-priests entered the sick-room in place of the *Kenza*-magicians and offered their prayers to make his last moments easier. Then after his death they prayed on the one hand for the protection of the body which might be in danger of disturbance from the evil spirits, and on the other hand, they prayed for the early rebirth of the spirit of the dead into the Amitabha's Paradise. During the period of mourning which lasted for seven weeks after the death there was customarily held also the incessant repeating of the name of Amitabha Buddha as a memorial service to the spirit of the dead.

The cohesion of the *Nembutsu*-practice with the practice based on the Lotus Sûtra centering around the Tendai School necessarily brought about the cohesion of the *Nembutsu*-performers with the *Kenza*-group. Both of them in company revolutionalized the popular Japanese concept of the soul through the sudden rise of the belief in *goryô*, as I have already pointed out. It was then that *Nembutsu* became to be one of the most powerful forms of magic against *goryô* for sending off the spirit of the dead and also the evil spirits to the Amitabha's merciful hands in his Western Pure Land. The professional *Nembutsu*-performers also came gradually to embrace some of the *Kenza*-istic asceticism. The fact that both *Nembutsu* performers and *Kenza* ascetics were equally called *Hijiri* by the common people should, I believe, be attributed to this common characteristic.

As the movement of the *Nembutsu-hijiri* group led by Kûya, Genshin and Jakushin, whom I have already mentioned, became more and more popularized and widespread, the Mantra-istic characteristics such as mystery, symbolism, asceticism and the merit of numerous repeated prayers were introduced into the *Nembutsu* practices.

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104) "Ri-hô-ô-ki" (Diary written by a prince) in Daigo-ji Zôji-ki, in the article of the eleventh of October, 930.

105) For example, in 952 at the funeral services for the late Emperor Sujaku (*ibid.*, 20th of August); in 1001 for the late Minister Morozane Fujiwara (*Den-ryaku*); in 1096 for Imperial Concubine Ikuho-mon-in (*Chu-yu ki*, Diary of Munetada Fujiwara); in 1107 for the late Retired Emperor Horikawa (*ibid.*).

For example, we can find such mysterious and symbolic elements in the *Kangaku-yé* Meeting founded by Jakushin, the *Gei-kô* Service founded by Genshin, as well as the *Shiju-hachi-ko* for the repetition of "*Namu Amida-butsu*" and the recitation of the 48 vows of the Buddha described in the Larger Sukhâvati Sûtra, the *Oh-jô-kô* for the rebirth to the Pure Land after death, the *Amida-kô* for praying to Amitabha Buddha, the *Bodai-kô* for the salvation and enlightenment by Amitabha Buddha, the *Fudan-Nembutsu-yé* ceremonies, all of which were based on the teachings of the Amitabha's Sûtras. These had as their object a firm belief in salvation in the future life by means of the religious sentiments such as were evoked by the masked procession of beautiful angels and Bodhisattvas of the Pure Land, sweet music and dances, and the mimic play of the coming down of Amitabha Buddha to welcome the spirit of his believers. Many *Amida-dô* Halls were built and dedicated to Amitabha Buddha in order to provoke the peoples and create a religious illusion of Amitabha's Paradise. To meet this purpose they were constructed and decorated in accordance with the descriptions in the Sûtras concerning Amitabha Buddha. They were usually called "Halls for the Coming Down of Amitabha Buddha" (*Gei-setsu-dô*), "Illuminated Halls" (*Hikaru-dô*), "Golden Colored Halls" (*Kon-jiki-dô*) or "Paradise Halls" (*Gokuraku-dô*). Many paintings and scrolls represented the circumstances of Pure Land and the figures of Amitabha Buddha and his accompanying angels and Bodhisattvas who appeared from the Western Heaven and came down to welcome his believers, the former of which were called *Jôdo-mandâla* or *Jôdo-hensô-zu,* and the latter, *Raigô-zu.* When a person fell into a critical condition, the *Nembutsu*-priest let him take hold of the five colored strings attached to the hands of a golden statue of Amitabha in order to assure him directly of the welcome and salvation of the Buddha. This custom called *Ito-hiki* flourished in the middle of Heian Period. Michinaga Fujiwara was one who died holding the five-colored strings tightly and repeating the name of Amitabha Buddha [106]).

Concerning the *Nembutsu*-ascetics, there were several practices such as fasting, flaying one's own palm or plantar skin, touching a flame directly to the palm, copy-writing the Buddhist scriptures using one's

106) See Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 304-317.

own blood as ink, self-amputation of fingers and toes, and so on, in order to offer them to Amitabha Buddha as well as to testify to their firm belief. Sometimes they sought death at their own hand by drowning, by burning themselves or hanging so that they might go directly to Amitabha's Pure Land by virtue of their unusually strong will-power. Some of them announced their intention in advance. Many citizens and believers gathered at the appointed place and witnessed these things, weeping and worshipping with adoration. They often experienced a common illusion. Some persons could see the five-colored clouds which came down from the Western Heaven or could hear the melodious music from the air which announced the descent of the Amitabha Buddha to welcome the suicide-*Nembutsu*-ascetic [107]).

The chanting of *Nembutsu* in extended repetitions was also one of the typical trends at that time. For instance, Yôkan (or Eikan) was said to have practiced the repeating of the name of Amitabha Buddha 10,000 times a day in his younger days. After his prime of life, he practiced it 60,000 times a day without missing a single day [108]). One nun named Anraku also repeated the "*Namu Amida-butsu*" prayer 50,000 times on every ordinary day and 100,000 times on every festival day as her daily routine [109]). Chôi of Kurama-dera Temple practiced the *Nembutsu* prayer, counting the number with red beans from March 1127 to August 1141. His total number of repetitions of the "*Namu Amida butsu*" during these thirteen years and five months reached about 1,427.33 bushels (287 *koku* 6 *tô*). He also strongly urged the repeating of *Nembutsu* among worshippers and pilgrims and counted their numbers by the fruits of the linden-tree (Bodhendrum, Tree of Enlightenment, which is sacred for the Buddhists). The total count was said to be 17,653.053 bushels (3,557 *koku*) [110]). Gansai, who lived near Asuka-dera Temple in Nara Prefecture, also counted the number of *Nembutsu* for about fifteen years or more, and his total was 3,474 bushels (700 *koku*) [111]). Again, Kyôshin repeated the *Nembutsu*-prayer 100,000 times a day and 1,000,000 times twice a month. [112]).

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107) *Op. cit.*
108) *Shu-i Oh-jo-den*; *Genkô Shaku-sho*; *Shi-ju Hyaku-innen-shu,* chap. VIII.
109) *Shu-i Oh-jo-den,* chap. III.
110) *Genkô Shaku-sho,* chap. XII.
111) *Op. cit.,* chap. XVII.
112) *San-gé Oh-jô-den.*

On the other hand, it should be mentioned that there were several examples of the most brutal persons or extremely impious or pagan persons who could go to the Amitabha's Western Paradise by virtue of only one chant of the name of the Buddha at the moment of their death [113]).

Many legends tell us that the even some professional *Nembutsu*-priests who strived for numerous repetitions of the Buddha's name, fell into evil courses after death if their belief and consciousness had been disturbed by a straying mind just at the moment of their death [114]). This idea, I am sure, might indicate that the concentrated mind at the moment of death is paramount in determining the destiny of one's future life, just as the possibility of deification or of becoming a *goryô* was believed to have depended primarily upon a determined mind in the last moment of life. "Nothing is impossible to a determined mind at the moment of death" was the public belief at that time.

Even though the merit of quantity as over against quality in *Nembutsu*-practices had been discussed for a long time by scholars of the Pure Land School, this was not only a theological problem among professional priests but also a common problem among people who were expecting a peaceful life after death in that work-a-day world. Especially the emphasis on the possibility and distribution of salvation in after-life of even a dissolute, uneducated and pagan person by only one chant of *Nembutsu,* if he had a firm and pious belief at this moment of his death, opened the door of the Pure Land to all human beings, though this doctrine was attended by many evils on the other hand. This doctrine, along with the Lotus Sûtra's saying that "all human beings originally have *Buddha-ness* without discrimination" from its One-Vehicle Principle, developed the Way of Salvation through "Other Power" or through the 48 benevolent vows of Amitabha Buddha as the "Easy Way".

Thus, the thought of the Pure Land School and *Nembutsu*-practices had sprouted in the Tendai School, then were promoted and developed by the movement of early *Hijiri*-groups among the noblemen and mas-

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113) Even brutal robbers or murderers could go to the Western Paradise by only one utterance of "*Namu-Amida-butsu*". See *Ho-sshin-shu; Ohjo-gokuraku-ki*; *Kon-jaku-monogatari* and other legendary literature. Cf. HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.,* pp. 310-311; 316-317 notes.

114) HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.,* pp. 310-311.

ses as well as among the Tendai priests. They were later gradually transmitted into various sects such as Hossô, Sanron, Kegon, Ritsu and Shingon. However, until Genkû (Hônen Shônin: 1133-1212) founded the proper Jôdo School according to the teachings of Shan-tao in the Tang Dynasty, this movement was confined to an affiliated branch or to mere individual belief and practice within each school. The *Nembutsu* branch in the Tendai school was at first originated by Ryônin (1072-1132) in 1124 and it became afterwards an independent *Yuzû-Nembutsu* sect. Integrating the Tendai and Kegon (Avatansaka) theologies with the teachings of the Chinese Pure Land School, Ryônin systematized his own doctrine. This was that one person's merits of faith and repetition of the Amitabha's name circulated and adopted to all other persons' merits, and all other persons' merits were transferable to one's own merits, so that all human beings could gain the benefit of rebirth into the Western Pure Land after death. This doctrine was based on the teachings of the faith of the Pure Land School, the "One-and-All" idea of the "Avatansaka-sûtra" and the "Salvation-for-All" idea of the Lotus Sûtra [115]).

Concurrently with this movement, the popularized *Nembutsu* magic against the *goryô* was spreading among the masses. Famines, epidemics, civil wars, big fires, and so on, were the most-widely feared fatal disasters among the people of the capital city Kyoto, because under the poor conditions of the current monetary system and their medical and social facilities, their economic foundation depended upon their own material resources, and their supply of food upon the provincial farming villages. According to the historical documents and diaries [116]) written from the middle to the end of the Heian Period, when the famines and plagues attacked Kyoto, the streets and river banks were covered with the bodies of victims and there was no room to walk. As the belief in *goryô* became more and more popular, the disaster-demons or deities such as the god of plague, the demon of colds, the demon of thunder-storms as well as the noxious insects causing the famine, etc., were gradually considered as actual variations of the spirit of

115) *Go-Shûu-i Oh-jô-den,* chap. II; *Genkô Shaku-sho,* chap. XI; *Yuzû Enmon-shô*; *Yuzû-Nembutsu Engi*; *Shô-myô Genryû-ki* and others. See Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.*, p. 291-294.

116) In *Shoku Nihon-kô-ki,* 842; 994 in *Hon-chô Sei-ki*; 1001 in *Nihon-ki-ryaku* and in *Gon-ki;* 1105 in *Chû-yû-ki,* etc. See Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.*, pp. 459-461.

goryô. There were frequent demonstrations by the popular *Nembutsu*-magicians or *Hijiri*. They performed the *Nembutsu*-rituals as a preventive against the *goryô* who had become the gods of plague or noxious insects, etc., on the one hand, and on the other hand, they offered the *Nembutsu*-prayers for these innocent victims which were believed to be a fair chance for becoming new *goryô*.

Sometimes, *Nembutsu-Hijiri* advanced in the midst of the battlefields to offer *Nembutsu* to the spirit of those who had fallen as well as to give the dying soldiers the assurance of salvation by the Amitabha Buddha, urging them to pray the *Nembutsu*. According to a letter sent by Ta-amidabutsu [117]), who lived in Kamakura at the ruin of the Hôjô Feudal Government at Kamakura in 1333, the battlefield resounded with repeated *Nembutsu* cries and prayers uttered by the soldiers of both sides under the influence of the activities of *Nembutsu-Hijiri* and the Pure Land Schools.

The fear of the spirit of the dead brought many ancient shamanistic ritual forms and customs into the popular *Nembutsu* practices. For example, dancing was re-introduced as a preventive against the gods of

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117) He was a chief-abbot of Yugyô-ji Temple in Fujisawa near Kamakura, which was and is one of the headquarters of the Ji Sect in the Pure Land School founded by Chi-shin. This curious name, Ta-*amidabutsu*, was originated by Chôgen (Shunjô-bô), one of the disciples of Genkû. He traveled about provinces soliciting contributions for the re-construction of the Todai-ji Temple, which had been destroyed by the war-fire. He also urged and favored *Nembutsu* practices among masses. He struck on this idea which would force his followers to repeat *Namu-Amida-butsu*: he called himself *Namuamidabutsu*. Then he began to give his disciples and followers the religious name of *amidabutsu*, prefixing one word to it, such as *Ta-amidabutsu, Kan-amidabutsu,* and *Jô-amidabutsu*. Later, these names were cut down to *Ta-ami, Kan-ami, Jô-ami* or *Ta-a, Kan-a, Jô-a,* etc. Thereafter these were called *Ami-gô* or *A-gô* which were their title name as *Amidabutsu*. This idea rapidly came into fashion. There were already several priests named so-and-so *amidabutsu,* such as Ben-a and Nan-a, among the leading disciples of Genkû. Afterwards, Chishin also accepted this idea and gave the name of *amidabutsu* to his disciples. According to historical and ethnographical documents, we can find many such *A-gô,* not only among the Pure Land School's professional priests and popular *Nembutsu-Hijiri* in villages, but also among retired village laymen, out-caste peoples, public entertainers, artists and actors, as well as Yin-yang magicians and medical doctors. Even today there are several families whose names originated from this custom, such as *Hon-ami, Tan-ami, Kô-ami* and so on. The name of Kanzé, one of the master families of the Kanzé School of the Noh Play, also came from the names of their two great ancestors, Kan-ami, and Zé-ami. The ancestor of Tokugawa Shogunate was said to be Toku-ami who had been a priest of the Ji Sect. The name of Tokugawa came from this ancestor's name.

plague as a particular *Nembutsu* ritual form. Musical instruments also appeared in the rituals. This became one of the most significant characteristics of the popular *Nembutsu* magic, though some Buddhist scholars have explained that this custom might have come from a conventional phrase at the end of many Buddhist sûtras that "all attendants, rejoining and dancing at the teachings of Buddha, saluted him and went away". However, the form of dancing accompanied by music and singing songs in a circle around about the central altar or symbol is presumed to be a particular form for the ritual of ancient Shintoistic *Chin-ka-sai* or *Hana-shizumé-no-matsuri* in several Shinto Shrines such as Ohmiwa, Sai and Ima-miya, all of which were dedicated to the deities of plague or great *goryô-shin* gods [118]). This was held to keep the blossoms from falling, because the primitive people had believed that the gods of plague would roam about and sprinkle the epidemic with the falling of the blossoms. Hence, this ritual form originated in many of the shrines' own magic festivals connected with the gods of plague. Further, the *Michiaé-no-matsuri* took place under the leadership of Shinto and Yin-yang priests who entertained the gods of plague with dancing, singing and music, also offering them several kinds of food on the public highways in order to check the advance of the gods of plague from the outside [119]).

These ancient and primitive ritual forms should not be supposed to be unrelated to the customs surrounding the ancient funeral rites [120]).

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118) *Ryô-no-Gi-gé,* chap. VI, "Ki-shun" (Later Spring) in the chapter named "Jin-gi Ryô", which describes the annual Shinto festivals held in the Imperial Court or under the auspices of the Department of "*Jin-gi-ryô*". See HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 696-699.

119) *Ryô-no-Gi-gé,* chap. II; *Engi-shiki,* chap. III; "Rinji-sai" (occasional Shinto festivals held in or under the auspices of the imperial court and government). See HORI, *op. cit.*

120) According to the ancient Chinese ethnographical documents such as "Wei-chih" written in the third century A.D., the funeral customs in ancient Japan were described as follows: "When some one died, all family members observed mourning for about two weeks. During this period, the chief mourner cries and weeps, while the others are singing and dancing, eating and drinking in the house of mourning. After this, the body is buried". According to the *Kojiki,* when Ama-no-Waka-hiko died suddenly by the Heavenly arrow, the survivers and relatives gathered at the mortuary and held the *eragi* of crying, weeping, singing and dancing. Moreover, in *Nihongi,* when Izanami, a creative goddess, gave birth to the Fire-god, she was burned, and died. She was, therefore, buried at the village of Arima in Kumano, in the province of Ki (Wakayama Prefecture). In the time of flowers, the inhabitants worship this goddess by offerings of flowers. They

Subsequently, these ritual forms were probably associated with the Buddhist ritual of walking in a circle around a central Buddhist altar, sprinkling paper flowers and chanting the sûtra in order to exalt the Buddha's virtue. The new form of *Nembutsu-dancing* (*Nembutsu-odori*) and the *dancing-Nembutsu* (*odori-Nembutsu*) [121]) came into existence and gradually flourished among the masses. Later, such magical *Nembutsu* arts became differentiated and transformed into various polite forms of music, singing and dancing as well as symbolic pantomimes and dramatic plays. According to the "Genkô Shaku-sho" written by Shiren (Kokan) in 1321, many *Nembutsu*-priests and priestesses usually attended the banquets to perform their *Nambutsu* singing and dancing and to entertain the guest, together with the *geisha*-dancers [122]).

V. DIFFERENTIATION AND SURVIVAL OF THE RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE HIJIRI-GROUPS

While the *upâsaka*-magicians in the mountains gradually organized the *Shugen-dô* sects as branches of both the Tendai and Shingon schools, the popular *Nembutsu*-priests became differentiated in two ways: first in the organization and systematization of the independent Pure Land School founded by Genkû (Hônen Shônin), Shinran (1173-1262) and Chishin (Ippen Shônin, 1239-1289); and secondly by the formation of the minority groups named *Sammai-Hijiri, Ji-shû* (*Roku-ji Nembutsu-shû*), *Kané-uchi-Hijiri, Hachi-ya,* or *Hachi-tataki, Chasen, Sasara, Nebutchô* (originally may be *Nembutsu-shû*), *Nama-dango* (originally came from *Namu-Amida-butsu*), *Jan-bon* (originally came from the sound of the gong) and so on [123]). These groups had settled

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also worship her with drums, flutes, flags, singing and dancing. See HORI, Ichiro: *Min-kan Shin-kô* (Folk-belief), 1951, Tokyo, p. 216-217.

21) At firt, *Nembutsu-Odori* and *Odori-Nembutsu* might have had the same meaning. Later, however, *Odori-Nembutsu* meant the professionally religious dancing-*Nembutsu* which were originally under the leadership of *Nembutsu-Hijiri,* while the *Nembutsu-Odori* meant the professionally artificial dancing, dramas, music and so on, which were derived from the *Odori-Nembutsu,* but lost their religious elements.

122) "Geisha-dancer" is used for convenience. At that time they were called *Shira-byôshi* or *Kei-sei,* which means professional medieval female dancers in white robes or medieval courtesans.

123) Cf. HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 380-395. Especially pp. 597-624 concerning the *Sammai-Hijiri.*

down in or around farming and fishing villages or near their cemeteries as well as in the large temples and shrines. They performed the same magical and religious functions as the lower class priests or beggars.

The founders of the orthodox Pure Land Schools denied the animistic and magical *Nembutsu* which was flourishing among the masses, but insisted on the return of *Nembutsu* beliefs and practices to their original forms, according to the teachings of the sûtras and the theologies systematized by Chinese priests of this school. However, in spite of their reformative intention, they organized their sect along quite different lines from the other Buddhist schools. This was due to their religious heritage of early *Hijiri*-groups, which had been anti-secular and *upâsaka*-istic.

For example, Genkû never built even one temple of his own, because he believed and declared that any place where the masses practiced *Nembutsu,* any small farmer's or fisherman's hut where a few persons prayed and repeated the name of Amitabha Buddha, was to be his own temple or seminary. According to his famous holograph, entitled "Ichimai Kishô-mon", he denied the philosophical and meditative *Nembutsu*-practices and urged his disciples to abandon all superficial knowledge which might interfere with the attainment of a pious and naive belief in the Amitabha Buddha [124]).

Shinran also denied the formal temple-and-priest-system of his time, following his teacher Genkû's principle and the tradition of the *Hijiri.* He never lived in a temple, but in huts or small hermitages. Taking a step forward, he "stressed household religion as more important than temple religion. Though reared as a Tendai monk himself, he gave up the monk's way of life, married, reared a family, and in other ways lived like a normal citizen or farmer of Japan", according to the descriptions of Dr. Reischauer [125]).

Chishin organized his Ji sect, which advocated pilgrimages for itinerant priests from village to village and from temple to shrine in order to disseminate the Amitabha's gospel to the masses as well as to offer

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124) *Kurodani Genkû-shônin-den*; *Hônen-shônin Gyôjyô-gazu*; HORI: *op. cit.* Vol II, pp. 318-326.

125) E. J. JURJI, comp.: *The Great Religions of the Modern World,* Princeton, 1946, p. 134. *Eshin-ni Sho-soku*; *Mat-tô-sho*; *Kai-ja-sho*; TSUJI, Zennosuke: *Nihon Bukkyo-shi,* Chusei-hen I, (The History of Japanese Buddhism, Medieval Age, No. I), Tokyo, 1948, pp. 368-369; 396-398; 401. HORI, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 327.

their *Nembutsu* practices to the deities and the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. He likewise never built his own temples, declaring that the monuments for Buddhist priests should be "nothing but their remains". Chishin's religious activities were carried out on such pilgrimages and he himself died as an itinerant. His principal temple was named Yugyô-ji, which literally means "temple for the itinerant priests". By an unwritten law of this temple, the abbot was to go on a pilgrimage all over Japan and die along the way of his pilgrimage. If he dies in a temple, he must breathe his last breath in tht temple-garden wearing his pilgrim's outfit. He also introduced the popular dancing-*Nembutsu* (*Odori-Nembutsu*) forms into his sect for the purpose of attaining religious ecstasy, bringing all his attentions and energies to bear on the dancing-*Nembutsu* prayer [126]).

The later *Nembutsu-Hijiri* groups which settled down here and there in the rural communities became small out-caste minority groups, though they still maintained some of the *Nembutsu* functions such as funeral services, memorial services and some magical techniques, exemplifying the historical law of changing from the *sacré pur* to the *sacré impur*. Some of them, having dropped their *Nembutsu* functions, were degraded to the status of the lowest-class people who engaged in home manufacture of the *chasen* (tea-whisk), *sasara* (bamboo-whisk, a musical instrument) or other bamboo wares such as baskets, spatulas, ladles, or straw-sandals—techniques believed to have been transmitted from their ancient ancestor *Kûya-Hijiri*. Some of them served as sentries on festival days, in detective services, or the miscellaneous services at funeral rites. Others made visitations from door to door to give blessings, reciting the traditional happy songs or sentences and dancing at the end and beginning of the New Year and at the *Bon* Festival [127]). Some groups, composing and transmitting the *Nembutsu*-dancing (*Nembutsu-odori*) and dramas, became professional actors or puppet-performers.

For example, in the Northern Kyushu villages there were several famous professional *Nembutsu*-players and actors. The *Nembutsu*-dramas played by them were called *Ashiya-Nembutsu, Uéki-Nembutsu,*

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126) *Ipen-Hijri-E*; *Ippen-shônin Gyôjyô Nenpu-ryaku*; *Ippen-shônin Go-roku*; HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 337-352.

127) Cf. HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 380-384 (*Hachi-ya*); pp. 385-387 (*Cha-sen*); pp. 338-390 (*Sasara*); pp. 390-395 (*Kané-uchi*); 432-440 (*Hachi-tataki*).

Jichû-Nembutsu, Jika-Nembutsu and so on, depending on the name of their seat of origin [128]). The *Kabuki* Play was said to have been originated by a famous female *Nembutsu*-dancer named Okuni in Shimané Prefecture and a male actor Sanza Fuwa [129]).

Uta-Nembutsu (literally, Singing *Nembutsu*-songs) was supposed to have originated in the *Inzei-Nembutsu* mentioned above, together with the Dancing-*Nembutsu* prayer. This was performed by special *Nembutsu*-priestesses named *Uta-bikuni* (Singer-nuns) in distributing the Amitabha's gospel to the masses in the form of melodious religious songs and hymns. Afterwards, some of them became secular ballad-singers, while other gradually were degraded to the status of itinerant beggars or prostitutes [130]).

The *Dancing-Nembutsu,* however, still survives all over Japan, clustered around several centers. For example, in Kyoto City, there is the *Jika-Nembutsu-Odori,* the *Tôrô-Odori,* the *Hanazono-Odori,* the *Daimoku-Odori* and the *Nembutsu-Odori,* all of which were performed at the *Bon* Festival in July of the lunar calendar and in the wake of the ancient *Dancing-Nembutsu.* Also, in Nara City there is the *Kyôki-Nembutsu-Odori,* in Shikoku Island the *Namaudé-Odori* (originally *Namu-Amida-Odori*), in Ibaraki and Chiba Prefectures the *Tendô-Nembutsu-Odori,* in Tokyo and Saitama Prefectures, the *Kasai-Nembutsu Odori,* or *Hôsai-Nembutsu-Odori,* in Fukushima Prefecture, the *Jingara-Nembutsu-Odori* or *Yûten-Nembutsu-Odori* and in Kyoto Prefecture, the *Rokusai-Nembutsu-Odori.* It is said that the *Kashima-Odori,* widespread in the southern Kanto and eastern Shizuoka provinces, also originated from the *Dancing-Nembutsu* for the purpose of warding off the *goryô* or gods of plague [131]).

Many annual festivals have developed from the *Dancing-Nembutsu.* Among them, the most popular is tht *Mushi-okuri-Nembutsu,* which means the "*Nembutsu* for sending off noxious insects to the outskirts of the village". The villagers usually perform the *one-million-Nembutsu* prayers (*Hyaku-man-ben Nembutsu*) to the accompaniment of drums,

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128) Hori: *op. cit.* II pp. 382, 423.

129) Takano, Tatsuyuki: *Nihon En-geki-shi* (History of Japanese dramas); Konakamura, Kiyonori: *Kabu Ongyoku-shi* (History of Japanese music, dancing and drama).

130) Hori: *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 698-703

131) Hori: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 422-440.

gongs and flutes under the leadership of the *Nembutsu-Hijiri* or the pious village elders. Sometimes, this practice was held in order to pray for rain or to send off the demons of plague and colds [132]). The *Bon* Festival is held especially for the seasonal return of the ancestral spirits and of all spirits of the dead. Among the many spirits there were believed to be souls of those who died leaving no relative behind, and also hungry or angry souls of the dead. Following this belief, two special altars are prepared in the *Bon* Festival: one is for ancestral spirits and the other is for the soul of dead with none to provide spiritual benefits for it. It is supposed that the farmers in ancient times thought of this not only as a crisis period in which the agricultural processes were suspended, but also a time of crisis for the farmers themselves who had a consciousness of and belief in their own co-existence with rice. The *Dancing-Nembutsu* was specifically sought for this season. *Bon-Odori* (*Bon* Festival Dances), one of the most popular and widespread annual functions in Japan, may have been transmitted from the *Dancing-Nembutsu* which originally had been learned from the *Nembutsu-Hijiri*. Even today, in some areas, the *Bon-Odori* Dancing is performed for the spirits of the dead who died during the past year as well as for those who died an untimely death. This is done under the leadership of the *Nembutsu-Hijiri* or the temple-priests. Thus we can point out the many survivals of ancient primitive belief in *goryô* which lie behind the rites of the *Bon* Festival [133]).

Among *Shugen-dô* priests, the itinerant *yama-bushi* or *shugen-sha*, together with the village-*yama-bushi* (*sato-yama-bushi* or *sato-shugen*), participated in the spiritual life of farmers and fishermen as well as of the common citizens. They had their own fixed sphere of supporters and parishioners, and visited from door to door once or twice a year to distribute the talismans ant amulets printed by their official headquarters and also to pray for the well-being of their parishioners' families.

The village-*yama-bushi* also visited each family in his village on its particular festival day every month, chanting the sûtra and performing each family member's star ritual. Sometimes, a family member asked the *yama-bushi* to tell his fortune from the aspect of the house, well, water-closet or tomb, or by means of Yin-yang divination, or divination

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132) Hori: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 410-421; 422-431.
133) Hori: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 457-470.

of the compatibility in temperament between husband and wife, or bride and bridegroom. These *yama-bushi* were also asked to pray for the sick and against other misfortunes [134]). Some of them learned and transmitted particular recitations or ballads called *Yama-bushi-Saimon* or music and dances called *Yama-bushi Kagura* or *Hôin-Kagura.* These arts became differentiated and transformed into popular professional narration in the farming villages and also in the cities [135]).

Though a few village-*yama-bushi* had their own temples or hermitages, many of them lived in the enclosure of or near their village Shinto shrine. There they served the Shinto deity as professional priests both in Buddhistic and Shintoistic forms of worship. Especially in the northeast and mid-north provinces, almost all of the village Shinto shrines were occupied by the village-*yama-bushi.* After the Meiji Restoration, many of them, quitting the Buddhist priesthood, became professional Shinto priests under the policy of the separation of Buddhism and Shinto.

On certain occasions, they married the village female shamans (*miko*), and shared in their work. A shaman would pronounce the cause of a misfortune or disaster, falling into trance and communicating with the spirit of the dead, then her husband could practice his magic and prayer to soothe and ward off the evil spirits or angry spirits of the dead [136]).

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The *Hijiri* was a holy-man who might originally have been a charismatic leader of the shaman caste. Subsequently, under the influence of Confucianism and Taoism from China, the word "*Hijiri*" was gradually differentiated and transformed into several meanings such as the honorific name for the sacred king, for imaginary genii in the mysterious land beyond the sea or mountain, for persons who had attained consummate skill in arts and techniques, as the literary name for wine and for the son of Bacchus, and so on.

However, the *Hijiri*-group in Japanese religious history is different from these except for its character of "non-conformity". The early

134) Hori: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 153-175.

135) Cf. Honda, Yasuji: *Rikuzen-hama no Hoin-Kagura,* Tokyo, 1934; *Shimotsuki Kagura no Kenkyu,* Tokyo, 1954.

136) Hori, *op. cit.* II, pp. 651-677.

Hijiri-groups which appeared in the middle of the Heian Period were successors and reformers of the forerunners of popular Buddhism in the Nara Period such as Gyôgi and En-no-Shôkaku, whose aims had been the spiritual and material salvation of the masses. In order to achieve their intention, they tried to integrate and adopt the Yin-yang philosophy and magic, the shamanistic technique of divination and oracle, and Confucianistic and Taoistic philosophies and ethics. They also tried to be intimately related with Shinto shrines in order to harmonize with Japanese native bliefs and Buddhism.

They were originally unofficial Buddhist priests called *upâsaka* or *śramanera* (*ubasoku* or *shami*) as opposed to the official Buddhist priests called *bhiksu* (*biku* or great monk), who were authorized and guaranteed in their status by the state. Because the official priests lived in state-temples or temples of powerful clans and studied their own theology and meditation, they were monopolized by the Imperial Family and the nobles. With very few exceptions the official temples and priests did not open their doors to the masses. Consequently, the masses had to pay respect to and depend upon the private priests as their spiritual and material saviours, because these priests had attained supernatural or superhuman power by the merits of their firm faith and strict practices in the isolated mountains or forests as well as having been engaged in public welfare services and social works in the name of Buddha's mercy.

Official Nara Buddhism was characterized by state control, city temples and several philosophical schools. At the end of the Nara Period, state Buddhism came to a deadlock under the policy of the unity of Buddhist church and state, and it was attacked by the new move toward disestablishment led by Emperor Kanmu of the Heian government. The capital was transferred from Nara to Kyoto (*Heian-kyô*), leaving the large city temples and their priests behind. The political and economic activities of the official priests were severely governed by state law and by imperial edict, and Buddhism was compelled to yield to political sovereignity. Saichô and Kûkai, chosen by Emperor Kanmu to reform Nara Buddhism, adopted a training system for private popular priests, and also introduced the new Buddhist schools, Tendai and Shingon, into Japan from China as religions for the new capital. Saichô built Enryaku-ji Temple in Mount Hiei while Kûkai founded Kongô-bu-ji Temple in Mount Kôya. They hardened

their bodies and minds in the isolated mountain regions and trained their disciples in the same environment.

However, superstitious and animistic beliefs were so prevalent among the nobility as well as among the masses at that time that the magico-religious needs of the times suddenly welcomed the Mantrayâna magic brought by Saichô and Kûkai in its newly-styled and most powerful form. As a result of this tendency in the religious world, the Tendai school was completely Mantra-nized by Saichô's successors. On the other hand, there was a most significant belief in *goryô* or *goryô-shin* at the basis of popular beliefs in the early Heian Period. This belief possibly originated in ancient Shamanism and, under the influence and offensive of Buddhism, Yin-yang and Taoism, was transformed into the belief in individual and personal evil or malevolent spirits of the dead.

Although this belief may be only a survival of superstitious and animistic religion, it seems to me that the flourishing belief in *goryô* at that time should be considered an important historical moment in the history of Japanese popular religions, because many heterogenous elements of foreign religions were co-mingled and mixed with each other, completely centering around this belief and taking their share in the religious activities against *goryô*. This belief had a great influence not only on Shinto religion and on the soul-concept of Japanese people, but also on Japanese Buddhism and the Yin-yang school. The female shamans and Yin-yang magicians together with the Buddhist magical ascetics played an active parts in religious life.

Under such circumstances, the Mantra-istic practices of the Tendai and Shingon schools became more and more popular and in great demand by the nobility and the masses. However, the official Mantrayâna priests were too busy to cater solely to noblemen. As they were held in high esteem among these groups, they were able to control and twist the noblemen around their little fingers. They became rich and high-ranking priests. Then they fell from grace into secularism. They gradually lost their superhuman magical power and frequently betrayed the people's confidence: hence the emergence of the so-called *Hijiri*-group. In this context it is not surprising that the early *Hijiri* insisted on anti-secularism on the one hand, and on *upâsaka*-ism on the other, as over against the existing ecclesiastical forms and circumstances. They also insisted on the return to the real spirit of their founders,

as well as to their lay and *upâsaka* leaders who had searched after religious truth and a real religious life. Their behavior and personality was quite unusual and unworldly in comparison with the normal secularistic priests at that time. But they maintained their unshakable faith and strict practice in the secluded and isolated places, and were little interested in the prosperity, luxury and glory of this world.

As the official Tendai and Shingon priests degenerated further and further into secularism, the people entertained great respect for the *Hijiri*-group, and depended upon them for attaining spiritual enlightenment and peace. On the other hand, as the belief in *goryô* became more and more popular, the masses asked them for spiritual help. In response to this demand, the two popular and unique Buddhist forms and movements came into existence: the *Shugen-sha* or *Kenza-group*, and the *Nembutsu-Hijiri* group.

Originally they traveled from mountain to mountain and from village to town to pursue their training and to perform their social functions for the salvation of the masses, and the spirits of the dead. Later, the *Shugen-sha* group was organized at several holy mountains; then it belonged to both the Tendai and Shingon schools. They were re-systematized and re-organized theologically and formally. However, they still maintained their unique principles of *upâsaka*-ism and non-conformity to the last, although there were deviations and evils among many.

The *Nembutsu-Hijiri* became differentiated in two ways: firstly, in the organization and systematization of the independent Pure Land School founded by Genkû, Shinran and Chishin under the sect names of Jodo, Jodo-shin and Ji; and secondly, by the formation of minority groups and groups of public entertainers. This differentiation process was promoted by the change from the Monarchical Age of Heian to the Feudal Age of Kamakura. Although Genkû, Shinran and Chishin organized and adapted the popular *Nembutsu* practices to the new Buddhist sects, they also insisted on anti-secularism and *upâsaka*-ism. All of them denied the so-called *temple-Buddhism* and strongly favored *household-Buddhism*. Shinran married and lived in a hut as a normal citizen and farmer. Chinshin died as an itinerant.

Both the *Shugen-no-Hijiri* and *Nembutsu-no-Hijiri* thrust themselves into the masses of the lowest class. Some of them visited as itinerant priests, while the others settled down in poor and small villages.

Some of them served the Shinto deity of their village shrine. Others served the villagers as leaders of the annual festivals, funeral and memorial services, as well as divinaters, fortune-tellers and magicians. They also acted as important advisers in their villages, public and private. In several areas such as in parts of Gifu, Hiroshima, Wakayama, Shiga and other prefectures, we can find accounts of many lay-*Nembutsu* priests who belonged to the Jôdo-shin sect and were called *Ké-bôzu* (the haired Buddhist priests). They lived in ordinary farmhouses, having only a larger Buddhist altar and a small gong. On ordinary days they engaged in agriculture while on the festival days or when the funeral rites or memorial services took place, they were invited by the villagers to pray, preach and serve. They wore their black robes, offering the *Nembutsu* and chanting the sûtras to the spirits of the dead in their villages [137]).

Generally speaking, among the most predominant schools within Buddhism, the Tendai, Shingon, and Zen Buddhist schools have been accepted by the upper classes and intelligentsia, while the *Shugen-dô, Nembutsu* (Pure Land School), and *Nichiren* sects have flourished especially among the common people. The *Shugen-dô* sect and the Pure Land school, especially, had deep roots among farmers and fishermen as well as among the out-castes. Thus, the *Hijiri,* differentiating and degenerating in various directions, became the most popular religious leaders in the rural communities from the Heian Period to modern times. Of course, their merits and their shortcomings may be balanced against each other in Japanese spiritual and cultural history. Nevertheless, their influence on the Japanese common people is so strong and so deep that we cannot discuss Japanese folk-beliefs and popular religions without considering the activities of *Hijiri* in the long history of Japanese religion.

137) Hori, *op. cit.* II, pp. 353-366.

BULLETIN

THE 9TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS, TOKYO, 1958.

IMPRESSIONS

It seems an almost impossible undertaking for an overseas participant at the 9th Int. Congress for the History of Religions to sum up, soberly and concisely, his impressions of the „Congress". For one thing, he would hardly be capable of isolating his feelings about the Congress *strictu sensu* with its sessions, papers etc., from the much wider, more "exotic" but perhaps also more profound and significant experiences within which it was set. There was certainly more to the Congress than papers and discussions; there was Japan, the country, its landscape, its people and its culture. The "diffuseness" of the reaction would be all the more marked with those who visited Japan for the first time — probably the majority of the overseas participants. None the less there may be some justification for attempting a critical review and assessment. For this was not just an International Congress that happened to be held in a Far Eastern country; on the contrary, its being held in the East was one of the constitutive aspects of the Congress and determined, to a large extent, its set-up, atmosphere and tendencies. It was understood by both the organizing bodies and the participants that geographical situation and intellectual climate were somehow related and that this challenge should be squarely faced. Taking the bull by the horns meant, in this case, taking the scientific study of religion (a typically western invention) and organizing a congress (a typically western habit) to promote it in an eastern country with a view to making this kind of meeting a regular feature of east-west intellectual exchange. Considering the fact that religion is one of the fields in which the differences between what is usually described as "east" and "west" are most marked, this initiative certainly bespeaks both courage and vision. The Congress was thus conceived as an "eastern congress" or, to be more exact, as the first in a series of alternate international congresses to be held in Asia.

As far as the technical organization of the Congress went, there is little that can be said except that it was simply perfect. In fact, the general feeling was that the Japanese hosts had set a standard of organizational efficiency, smooth running and attention to detail, combined with a lavish yet somehow quite natural hospitality that will necessarily drive to despair the organizers of future congresses. From the signposting in the Congress-building to the plastic bags for carrying

our shoes whenever we had to take them off, everything was provided for. The kindness, sympathy and keen interest of the Japanese scholars were perhaps best typefied by the untiring participation in all Congress proceedings, whether lectures or excursions, of its Hon. President, H.I.H. the Prince Mikasa. The ubiquitous and ever-smiling Executive Secretary of the Japanese Organizing Committee, Prof. H. Kishimoto, made us wonder whether he could ever lose his patience or temper. Apparently he could not.

Part of the organizational feat was the manner of showing participants as much of Japanese religious life and institutions as was possible in the short time available. Shinto, Japanese Buddhism, Zen, sectarian Shinto were met in their natural setting; sites and shrines were visited and admired, and their significance brought home to us by explanatory addresses as well as by simply allowing us to contemplate and inhale the atmosphere. The sight of Zen-monks in meditation was surely an unforgettable experience to many participants in spite of the uneasiness which some may have felt at suddenly themselves in the role of "peeping Toms". But is not every scholar, at heart, a "peeping Tom"? No one would pretend that these lightning tours greatly increased our technical scholarship, yet they were so well planned and conducted that they performed a far more important task: presenting a cross-section of religious life in Japan, opening new possibilities of deeper and sympathetic understanding and — above all — whetting our appetite for more and profounder studies.

But however rich and satisfying the in-congress and post-congress tours could not but be, the central pillar of the whole were, of course, the Congress proceedings themselves. These consisted, according to the programme, of two parts: 1) the more technical Congress for the History of Religions proper and 2) the symposium, sponsored by UNESCO in connection with the East-West Project, on "Religion and Thought in the Orient and Occident". The fact that the distinction between the two was not always apparent is in itself an indication of the kind of atmosphere that prevailed.

It is a rather commonplace observation that the emancipation of the study of religions from "religious studies" (whether theology or religious philosophies) is not yet fully recognized by many students of the subject. Particularly in the East this development — for better or for worse — has not yet greatly progressed. For even where the East has shown itself capable of taking the plunge into modern technology it could not, in its approach to humanistic studies, make up for the absence, as an immanent growth, of the decisive cultural phenomenon known in European history as the "Enlightenment". Perhaps the full realization of this situation was one of the most valuable results of this east-west Congress.

The danger of confusing the study of religions with religious studies

had been implicitly acknowledged by the I.A.H.R. when it decided upon "History of Religions" as the official definition of the scope of its activities, although the latter are clearly meant to include psychology, sociology, phenomenology etc. of religion as well. Still, it is better to chose a modest title whose deliberate "narrowness" and limitation are indicative of the resolve to adhere to strictly historical standards, than to use a broader term whose very breadth may encourage unscientific departures. Yet the fact that it was necessary to remind the Congress time and again that it was neither the task nor the *raison d'être* of the I.A.H.R. to parallel the World Congress of Faiths, the Parliament of Religions and similar bodies, is itself sufficient to show that the I.A.H.R. still has to fight for its character. In fact, concerning this particular confusion, there was at times little difference between some eastern and some western participants.

The problem became manifest in all its acuteness during the second part of the Congress. The criticism voiced by the General Secretary of the Intern. Association after the Rome Congress holds true, in far greater measure, of Tokyo. For if the remarkable absence of sociology in discussions of Sacral Kingship rightly drew some mild reproof (*Atti dell'* viii *Congresso Int. di Storia delle Religioni,* 1956, pp. 71-72), what must one say about the absence of sociological approaches to such themes as the mutual contacts and/or impacts of east and west, westernization, christianization and modernization of the orient, the role of religious traditions in shaping attitudes and their possible function in promoting attitudes of tolerance and understanding etc.? The net result was, to some extent, a touch of unreality about many of the discussions.

That the I.A.H.R. was fully prepared to meet the challenge appeared during the Congress. According to its statutes the Intern. Association consists mainly of affiliated national organizations and not of individual members or academic institutions. At the time of the Tokyo Congress only two Asian national groups were actually affiliated to the Association. Significantly enough these were the two Asian countries whose general set-up and outlook happen to be the most "western": Japan on the eastern and Israel on the western shore of the continent. Preparations for organizing an Indian group, it was understood, were already well under way. None the less, the I.A.H.R. felt that something should be done to make the Association more international. At a meeting of delegates and participants from Afro-Asian countries it became apparent that rich religious traditions do not automatically produce *Religionswissenschaft,* and that many of the delegates would have to do pioneer work in their respective countries in order to set up national organizations. It became also quite clear that the efforts of the I.A.H.R. to enlarge the scope of its activities whilst preserving strictly scientific standards will involve some long-range up-hill work.

During the first and, theoretically speaking, main part of the Congress, a new system was tried out with what appears to be considerable success. Every congress is, in the nature of things, beset by technical problems that are not always capable of straight answers, e.g. the choice of speakers or the procedure and criteria for admitting viz. refusing papers. Here, as everywhere, prestige, courtesy, scientific merit etc. create tangles which are not always amenable to simple solutions. A vaster and far more general problem, however, affecting the whole set-up of a congress and the contacts between its members is the matter of sections and plenary sessions. However edifying, impressive and even instructive plenary sessions may be, they are practically useless for purposes of discussion and exchange of opinions. Sectional meetings, on the other hand, tend to lead to such fragmentation and atomization of the proceedings that the basic purpose of a congress as a scholarly get-together is almost defeated. There are, after all, enough congresses for orientalists, archeologists etc. and if scholars meet to talk about "religion" it is only reasonable to ask that the communications should be of relevance and interest if not to the layman then at least to their colleagues in the same field of study albeit in a different part of it. The organizers of the Tokyo Congress conceived the happy idea of limiting the number of sections to four [1]), thereby achieving meetings that could still be easily "handled" yet allowed for maximum contacts and exchange of views. To a large extent this arrangement was rendered possible by the relatively small number of western "specialists" present, yet the principle deserves careful consideration by the organizers of future congresses.

The truism that you do not attend congresses for the sake of the papers (which you can read far more comfortably in print anyhow) is certainly not to be taken as a cheap cynicism. It is just another way of saying that apart from reading each other's work there is some sense in the personal meeting of scholars and that we may benefit by such contacts both in scientific and in human terms. The eastern scholars, particularly the Japanese, made it abundantly clear how much the meeting with their western colleagues meant to them. I am thinking here in particular of a luncheon-meeting arranged by the Japanese Orientalist Society and presided over by the Society's chairman, H.I.H. Prince Mikasa, in honour of the overseas orientalists who were requested to report on the state of research in their repective fields. At

1) This innovation in the traditional structure of International Congresses for the History of Religions was firstly brought by Professor Pettazzoni before the Executive Bureau of the I.A.H.R. at Amsterdam, October 1957. The Bureau agreed and resolved that the 'reform' should be taken into consideration for the Marburg Congress, 1960. In the meantime our Japanese Colleagues were able to employ it in advance at the Tokyo Congress. The success of this experiment pleads for further employment in future Congresses (EDIT.).

the same time it was brought home to the foreign visitors how painfully ignorant they were of research conducted in the Orient. Perhaps the I.A.H.R. will feel itself prompted, as a result of the Tokyo experience, to devise means of disseminating information of general scholarly interest and of keeping students who are ignorant of the eastern languages abreast of the main results of research published in those countries.

By and large the Tokyo Congress was a memorable event and a great success — because of what it actually gave as well as because of the problems which it helped to see more clearly. It was not only a major achievement to be looked back on with justified pride by the organizers and with profound gratitude by the participants, but also a challenge and committment to further progress.

R. J. Zwi Werblowsky

RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE 9TH CONGRESS FOR THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS AT TOKYO

As appears from the impressions given by Prof. dr R. J. Zwi Werblowsky the Congress for the History of Religions at Tokyo has in many respects been a very important one. This is also proved by the two recommendations, to the IAHR and to Unesco, which are brought here to the knowledge of the subscribers of Numen. They show that the participants of both the Congress and especially the Symposium were aware of their responsibility and made an attempt to do a bit of creative thinking in regard to the future study of the history of religions. It is gratifying to note that in the recommendations to Unesco the importance of the religious factor in the civilizations of the East and of the West is duely pointed out and that the study of the history of religions is strongly advocated. The recommendations to the IAHR open wide horizons and give the organization a new task. It may be foreseen that the extension to the East will affect the organisational scheme of the IAHR and perhaps also the form and the manner in which the problems of the history of religions are presented and discussed. The next congress at Marburg in 1960, which will likely be held September 10th to 17th, offers a welcome occasion of discussing these points at length and at ease.

C. J. Bleeker

Recommendations to the I.A.H.R.

The Ninth International Congress for the History of Religions and the Symposium on "Religion and Thought in the Orient and the Occident: A Century of Cultural Exchange" held at Tokyo, August 27-Sept. 4.

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Considering the growing interest in the study of history of religions evidenced by Eastern scholars during their discussions in Tokyo, and having received advice from the meeting of delegates from Asian and African countries held on August 30,

Recommend that:

1) The 11th Congress for the History of Religions, and possibly a second East-West Symposium, should be held in the East, for instance in India.

2) The international character of the IAHR should be extended. The Oriental countries, following the example of Japan, should form their own national groups. This does not imply a splitting of the IAHR into two independent wings, but merely an expansion of its work, under the condition that scholarly standards must be the same in the East and the West. Where this condition cannot yet be fulfilled, the foundation of small provisional national committees is recommended, in order that the foundation of regular groups may result later. The participants in the meeting held on August 30 have undertaken to stimulate the constitution of such groups in their respective countries. These regular national groups may be affiliated as member-groups to IAHR. An ad hoc committee, consisting of Japan, India, United Arab Republic, Burma, Pakistan, and Korea, will give its first report on the geographical extension of their work at the Congress to be held at Marburg in 1960.

3) IAHR should give still greater emphasis to the study and research of Oriental Religions and their relations to the West.

4) IAHR should stimulate both scholarly and popular publications in the field of History of Religions, since such publications will promote mutual understanding between East and West.

Recommendations to Unesco.

In connection with the Ninth International Congress for the History of Religions, organized under the auspices of the International Association for the History of Religions by the Science Council of Japan and held in Tokyo from August 27 to 31, 1958, a Symposium concerning the relations between East and West from the point of view of religion in its different aspects was arranged within the framework of UNESCO's Major Project for mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values (Religion and Thought in the Orient and Occident: A Century of Cultural Exchange) September 2-4.

The scholars from 29 countries who discussed the problem of mutual influence of Eastern and Western religions tried to characterize the peculiarities of the various types of culture. In five Plenary Sessions and twelve special Round Table Discussions the great importance of a thorough knowledge of different religions as a means for better understanding of the present cultural situation in the East and the West was clearly shown.

Therefore, the participants in the Tokyo International Symposium "Religion and Thought in the Orient and Occident: A Century of Cultural Exchange":

Inspired by the spirit of friendliness which characterized the Symposium;

Recognizing that mutual international understanding and appreciation, especially between the Orient and the Occident, is an urgent need;

Convinced that the study of religions is an essential factor in creating such understanding and appreciation;

Realizing the important action taken by UNESCO when it adopted its major project for mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values;

Recommend that:

1) The study of the history of religions should be encouraged and incorporated within the framework of the East-West major project of UNESCO, especially since without the study of the religions it would hardly be possible to understand the Orient. On the other hand, it appears necessary to emphasize that in certain essential respects Western civilization is informed by religious values.

Moreover, the study of the history of religions should be encouraged, since it is a powerful means of fostering mutual appreciation and respect between religiously minded people;

2) The study of religions should be interpreted here not as dogmatics or as the expression of peculiar churches or sects, nor should it encroach upon any faith or belief; yet, religion itself should be considered to be an essential factor of a great many cultural manifestations, giving them a typical character, and determining ways of thinking, living and creating values, in both individuals and peoples.

3) Religion should therefore be approached within the East-West major project, not in a dogmatic way but with the aim of promoting the knowledge of its cultural aspects, by scientific study of the history of religions in its different branches. That such a scholarly approach is possible is shown by the results of the Congress and Symposium held in Tokyo.

4) Both similarities and differences between religions should be fairly pointed out in order to enable responsible individuals and institutions to promote fruitful co-operation, taking into due account the specific character of the religious background of various cultures.

5) Attention should be paid by various departments of UNESCO, under the East-West major project, to the religious factors in social and cultural phenomena.

6) UNESCO should recommend to the educational authorities of its member states that they introduce into the general instruction given to students, before they specialize, the main results of humanistic studies regarding the comparison of cultures and religions, since these con-

stitute essential factors to be taken into account in the appreciation of other peoples.

7) For the implementation of activities under the East-West major project, connected with the study of religions, UNESCO should mainly work through various organizations whose aim includes the promotion of mutual understanding through the study of religions. It should be understood that these organisations guarantee full freedom and complete tolerance and demonstrate a genuine scholarly approach to the history of religions.

8) The possibility of giving assistance to another similar symposium, perhaps in connection with a future Session of IAHR, should be considered.

9) The East-West major project of UNESCO should not only stimulate research and study and promote international meetings and symposia in the history of religions, but should also encourage publications in that field. For instance, some aid towards the publication of the proceedings of this Symposium would be helpful.

Similarly, especial attention should be given to the problem of scholarly translations of religious literature both Eastern and Western. Analytical works on religion written by both Western and Oriental scholars might also be encouraged.

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